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GREGOROVIUS'
HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. IV.—PART I.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY

ANNIE HAMILTON

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BOOK SEVENTH.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

1. Position of the City of Rome in the Eleventh Century in Universal History—Influence of the Civic Elements on the Papacy—The Lombards elect Arduin King; the Romans raise John Crescentius to the Patriciate — Death of Sylvester II., 1003—John XVII. and XVIII.—Tusculum and its Counts—Sergius IV.—End of John Crescentius, 1012.

The eleventh century forms one of the most important epochs in the annals of the Papacy. A greater contrast between the utter decay and the sudden revival of the same power is nowhere else encountered in history. The extinction of the house of Otto was succeeded by conditions which resembled the conditions that had followed the extinction of the Carolingian Empire. The papal power sank both morally and politically, while the city exerted itself to obtain its final emancipation

from the papal yoke. Its efforts proved unsuccessful, since the Papacy remained an indestructible principle hostile to civic development, a principle which could only be temporarily repressed but could never be removed, and which, through the aid of foreign powers, was always able to recover its ascendency. In Rome no burgher class existed sufficiently strong to form a firm foundation for a secular constitution. There still remained merely the powerful noble families, the captains or great feudal vassals of the Church in city and country, who snatched the power from the Pope, to quarrel for it among themselves. These men ruled Rome as patricians in the first half of the eleventh century; they appointed popes from amongst their relatives, and made the Sacred Chair a family possession, and the Papacy fell into a condition of such utter barbarism that the times of the most infamous emperors of antiquity seemed to have been renewed. Then followed, however, that memorable reaction which, with marvellous rapidity, raised the Roman Church into a cosmopolitan power.

Civic affairs contributed very materially to work this result; the city itself providing the immediate causes for far-reaching movements. Its existing relations to the emperors and the popes, even the events which occurred within the narrow circuit of its walls, its opposition to the spiritual dominion, the difficulty in which the popes were placed through the civic nobility, the permanent condition of indigence, self-defence, and vigilance in which they were kept, all these causes contributed to produce

more or less remote effects and wide-spread political results. We may assert that, without the constant opposition of the city of Rome to the spiritual government, the history of the Papacy would not have followed the course which it took both before and after Gregory VII.

The conception of the Roman patriciate from the eleventh century onwards became of world-wide importance. It invested the German kings, who snatched it from the Roman nobility and allied it to their crown, with power over the city and the right of nomination to the Sacred Chair. It therefore became the foremost object of the struggle between the Church—struggling to obtain her emancipation—and the State. The Church had scarcely entered on the path of inward reform when she strove with all her power to throw off the yoke of the Patricius. Neither creatures of the nobility, nor creatures of the king, were to be appointed to the Papacy: the papal election must be free and the independent work of the clergy. The patriciate of the city thus called forth the celebrated statute of election of Nicholas II. and the creation of the College of Cardinals, and the struggle of the popes against the patriciate at length developed into a struggle against the right of investiture in general.

The great conflict concerning investiture governed the history of the city in the latter half of the eleventh century. Rome continued to be its source and the scene of strife on which Hildebrand displayed his genius and his marvellous activity, not only in founding a new ecclesiastical

state with feudal territories, but in forming the Papacy, after its emancipation from the patriciate, into an all-ruling power. Tedious civil wars and terrible misfortunes overtook unhappy Rome in consequence of the great struggle between the Church and the Empire, and we shall see these struggles prolonged into the twelfth century, until the city itself issues from these great convulsions during the period of the rising city republics of Italy, itself in the new form of a republic.

After the death of Otto III., Italy found herself freed from her king, Rome from her emperor. No heir could claim the title of the first Otto. A favourable opportunity had arisen for the Italians to pronounce the German royal and imperial power over their country extinguished and to attain independence. As in the time of Berengar, North Italy immediately transferred the crown of the Lombards to a native prince, and Arduin, Margrave of Ivrea, a powerful noble whom Otto III. had placed under the ban of the Empire, was elected King in Pavia as early as February 15, 1002. Arduin made a royal progress through the country, and even cherished hopes of the imperial crown. Such of the Lombard bishops as adhered to the German monarchy made strenuous resistance, and among these prelates Leo, Bishop of Vercelli, a favourite of Otto III., was Arduin's most formidable opponent.[1]

The Romans placed the patrician diadem on the head of the son of the celebrated Crescentius, and

[1] *Sam.* Löwenfeld, *Leo of Vercelli*, 1877.

John entered on a ten years' rule as lord of the city.[1] His family was hostile to the German monarchy, but was beloved by the Romans, owing to the sacrifices it had made for the freedom of the city. The populace, therefore, renouncing the Counts of Tusculum, turned to the Crescentii. The relations of the new Patricius, John and Crescentius, sons of Benedict and Theodoranda, ruled as Counts in the Sabina; John even called himself duke and margrave, perhaps because he also ruled over Spoleto and Camerino. The Patricius also made another Crescentius Prefect of the city,[2] and effected a marriage between his own sister Rogata, now Senatrix of the Romans, and Octavian, son of Joseph, a Lombard duke in the Sabina.[3]

John Crescentius, Patricius of the Romans.

[1] *Mortuo vero ipso Imp. Johes. Crescentii fil. ordinatus est patricius, qui Joh. et Crescent. filios præd. comitis* (*Benedicti*) *ut dilectos consanguineos amare cœpit. Chron. Farf.*, p. 541. He appears as *Patricius Urbis R.* in 1003 (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 649).

[2] Stephen was still prefect in the year 1002 (Docum. of S. Cosma, *Mscr. Vatican*, 7931, p. 30). In documents Crescentius appears as holding the office from 1003. Contelor, *de Præf. Urb.*, erroneously calls him *de Turre;* an appellation which belonged to his brother: *Marinus qui vocor de Turre . . . Crescentio olim pref. germano meo.* A. 1036, 15 Nov., *Reg. Farf.*, n. 620. The Prefect Crescentius was not the brother of the Patricius John, since in this case Marinus would have been proud of being brother to the Patricius.

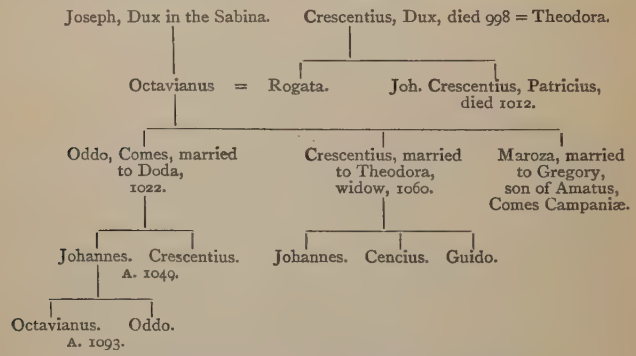
[3] Two celebrated documents in the *Reg. Farf.*, n. 504 (Oct. 1007), n. 523 (Oct. 1013). The first: *Temporib. D. Johis S. P. et XVIII PP. et D. Johis Patricii Romanor. et Ven. Rainerii Epi, et Dni. Oddonis et Crescentii incl. Comitum Territ. Sabine. In M. Octbr. Ind. V. Constat nos dom. Octavianum Vir. magnif. fil. cujusd. Joseph, seu et D. Rogatum illust. jugalem filiam cujusd. Crescentii b. m.—pro anima Dni. Crescentii genitoris mei, et D. Theodore genitricis mee supte Rogate, et pro an. Johannis Patricii Romanor. germani mei et Senioris nostri. . . .* In n. 523, Octavian names *D. Rogatam*

Death of Sylvester II., May 12, 1003.

The aged Sylvester meanwhile bewailed his loneliness for another year in the desolate Lateran, where he may, however, have found solace in his beloved parchments, until a (probably) violent death released him on May 12, 1003. His third successor erected a monument to his memory in S. John's, and we may still read the eulogy on the celebrated Pope and recall the various legends with which the Middle Ages adorned the life of this "Magician" on the throne of Peter.[1]

The epitaph laments that peace vanished from the

Senatricem conjugem meam. Oddo and Crescentius, the sons of Octavian, were counts in the Sabina about 1024; the county remained in the family until the beginning of the twelfth century. The genealogical tree in Sperandio (*Sabina sacra*, p. 131) is inaccurate. According to documents, it is more probably as follows:—


Joseph, Dux in the Sabina.
Crescentius, Dux, died 998 = Theodora.
Octavianus = Rogata.
Joh. Crescentius, Patricius, died 1012.
Oddo, Comes, married to Doda, 1022.
Crescentius, married to Theodora, widow, 1060.
Maroza, married to Gregory, son of Amatus, Comes Campaniæ.
Johannes. Crescentius. A. 1049.
Johannes. Cencius. Guido.
Octavianus. Oddo. A. 1093.

[1] *Iste locus mundi Sylvestri membra sepulti*
Venturo Domino conferet ad sonitum. . . .

Stephania or Theodora was said to have poisoned him as well as Otto III.; Siegbert (who died in 1113) believed that he had been carried off by the devil. Orderich Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Martin Polonus, Walter Map (*De nugis curialium*, Dist. iv. c. 11) relate legends concerning Sylvester.

world on his death, and that the Church sank into confusion. The reigns of the two popes who succeeded him are, however, wrapped in complete obscurity. John XVII. (Sico) died in the course of seven months, and John XVIII. ascended the Sacred Chair on December 25, 1003. Both were Romans, relatives or creatures of the Patricius who had raised them.[1] John XVII. and XVIII.

During his pontificate of more than five years, John XVIII. scarcely ventured to turn his timid glance towards the distant Kings of Germany. The Duke of Bavaria, who had there succeeded to the throne as Henry II., desired to revive the Imperium in the German nation; Arduin, however, King at all events in his Alpine heights, stood between him and the imperial crown. The Bavarian had overcome, if not set aside, his rival, and had assumed the crown of Italy in rebellious Pavia, on May 14, 1004, but nevertheless had returned to Germany. Arduin's defeat, Henry's coronation, and the expectation of his journey to Rome, combined to give the German party in the city a fresh access of power. This party was now led by the Counts of Tusculum, who, from hatred to the Crescentii, feigned a sympathy for the German monarchy.

[1] *Cod. Vat.*, 3764: *Johs. qui vocatur Sicco nat. Rom. de regione biberatica sed. m. V. d. XXV.—Johs. qui voc. Fasanus de regione secus porta metrovi sed. a. I.*, corrected by the *Cod. Vat.*, 1437, to *a. V.* The *R. Biberatica* is to be found in *Regio Montium.* The first year of John XVIII. is given by an instrument from S. Cosma in Mica Aurea (*Mscr. Vat.*, 7931, p. 33): *Anno Pont. Dn. Johis octabidecimi pape in sede anno primo m. madius Ind. II.*, therefore 1004. His last year is mentioned by the *Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 88, *a. VI. Johis XVIII. Ind. VII. m. Januar. die XI.*, therefore 1009.

Tusculum.

Fifteen miles distant from Rome the ruins of ancient and mediæval Tusculum still stand on the heights above Frascati. The city was older than Rome, its origin being lost in the myths of Odysseus, by whom and by his son by Circe, Telegonus, it was said to have been founded. As a seat of Latin power, it long made war on Rome. Its ruler, Mamilius Octavius, there gave shelter to his father-in-law, the last Tarquinius, and himself fell in the battle of Lake Regillus. Various illustrious families—the Mamilii, the Fulvii, the Fonteiani, the Juventii—owed their origin to Tusculum, but greater than any of these were the Porcii, for this gloomy fortress had also been the cradle of the Catos.[1] Many figures, conspicuous during the prime of Roman learning, meet the traveller amid the ruins of Tusculum. He there discovers the site of Cicero's Academy and the villa in which he wrote the Tusculan Disputations. M. Brutus, Hortensius, Lucullus and Crassus, Metellus, Cæsar, and the later emperors owned villas at Tusculum; the fertile slope being covered with luxurious country houses in Roman times, even as Frascati, the delightful successor of Tusculum, which arose in the Middle Ages long before Tusculum itself perished, is covered with the beautiful villas of the Roman nobility at the present day.[2] In the

[1] Nevertheless the name Monte Porzio is probably derived from swine. *Montem Porculi*, document of the year 1151, *Cod. Albini Vatican*, 3057, fol. 1151. And as early as 1074 (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 357).

[2] Bishops of Tusculum appear from the middle of sæc. v. Mattei (*Mem. Ist. dell' antico Tusculo*, Roma, 1711) repeats all the fictions of Zazzera, Kircher, Arnold Vion, &c. Concerning Tusculum in the

tenth century the Tusculan municipium was an almost impregnable town, filled with the ruins of ancient magnificence. The owner of the fortress ruled over the Latin mountains and a part of the Campagna, and its site gave Tusculum a greater importance than it was possible for any other stronghold in Roman territory to possess.

The family of the Counts of Tusculum.

The resident family of counts (*de Tusculana*) were descended from Marozia and Theodora, and the family name of Theophylact, which they preserved, shows "the Senator of Rome" to have been an ancestor of the house. Alberic, the son of Marozia, may possibly have inherited Tusculum from his mother; no document, however, gives any information on the subject. We might boldly trace the Tusculan family to Theophylact, did we not hesitate to trifle with genealogical trees which lead us back to Mamilius Octavius.[1] Gregory, Senator of the Romans, bearing the title *de Tusculana*, appears for the first time in history during the reign of Otto III. as a favourite of the Emperor and undoubtedly as Count of Tusculum.[2] The life of

Middle Ages, see G. Tomassetti, "Campagna Romana" (*Archivio d. Soc. Rom.*, ix. 1886).

[1] The family cannot be historically traced beyond Theodora and Theophylact, as even Tomassetti, in his attempt at a genealogical tree, maintains. In the *Reg. Petri Diaconi* (n. 257 in M. Casino) a Count of Tusculum writes in the beginning of sæc. xii.: *Ptolemæus Julia stirpe progenitus romanorq. consul excell. Petro nepoti.* Alberic laid claim to this descent, and consequently gave his son the name of Octavian. The oldest deed concerning Tusculum contains the lease of a mill from the Count Palatine Alberic in 1028: from S. Maria Nova (*Mscr. Vat.*, 8043). Then documents from the middle of sæc. xi. in the *Reg. Petr. Diac.*; from sæc. xii. in Albinus and Cencius.

[2] First mentioned as *Dom. Gregorius Romanor. Senator* A. 986

S. Nilo depicts him as a rich, crafty and violent despot, and relates that on the saint's arrival in Rome in 1002 Gregory presented him with a piece of land on which the Basilian Monastery of Grotta Ferrata was founded.[1]

Gregory, son or grandson of Alberic, had married Maria and become the father of three sons, Alberic, Romanus, and Theophylact. These lawless barons, like birds of prey, looked down from the heights of Tusculum upon Rome, where John Crescentius now ruled as Patricius, and where Alberic fifty years before had reigned with royal power. They aimed at making Rome a family possession, and a favourable opportunity soon occurred. On the death of John XVIII. in June 1009, the Tusculans apparently succeeded in obtaining a papal election favourable to their cause.[2] The successor to the

(*Mscr. Vat.*, 8042). Then A. 999: *Gregorio excell. viro, qui de tusculana, atque præfecto navali* (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 470). Coppi (*Mem. Colonn.*) represents Gregory as son of the celebrated Alberic, others make him the son of Deusdedit. The will of a *Patricius Romanor. Albericus* given by Sperandio (*Sabina S.*, p. 327) is a fiction.

[1] *Mscr. Vat.*, 8042. Concerning this celebrated monastery, see Rocchi, *La Badia di Grotta Ferrata*, Rome, 1884; Tomassetti, "Camp. Romana," *Arch. d. Soc. R.*, vol. viii., 1885, p. 487 f. An inscription inspired Galletti with the idea of writing the history of the Conti di Tusculo; the materials for which are to be found in the Vatican library.

Aurea progenies iacet hic vocitata JOHS. . .

The child who died in 1030 is called the *nepos* of the great Prince Alberic; his father Gregory, however, was grandson of Gregory of Tusculum (who, according to documents, died before 1012). John XIX. was great-uncle to the child.

[2] *Catalog. Eccardi: Phasianus Card. s. Petri, qui et Joh. de patre Urso Presbytero, matre Stephania, post annos V. et dimid. in S.*

vacant throne was Sergius IV., Bishop of Albano, himself perhaps a Tusculan, under whose pontificate the Crescentii gradually lost ground.[1] John Crescentius meanwhile continued to administer the government, and the Acts of the time show his term of rule as Senator of the Romans and Patricius officially registered in 1011.[2] They show him as supreme judge of Rome and the territory belonging to the city, holding Placita in his palace, as Alberic had done in former days, surrounded by his judges, who called themselves senators, and alongside of Crescentius Prefect of the city.[3]

Sergius IV. Pope, 1009–1012.

John, however, was troubled by recollections of

Paulo monachus discessit. Had he been thrust into a convent cell from the Sacred Chair?

[1] Jaffé shows that he was consecrated between June 20 and August 24. His family name in the *Catalog. Eccardi: ex patre Petro, matre Stephania, cognom. Bucca porca.* *Bucca* frequently appears in Roman names of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Bucca di pecora, Buccalupo, Buccafusco, Buccacane, Buccamazza, Buccapiscis, Buccazonca, Buccamola, Buccabella.* Thietmar, vi. c. 61: *Sergius, qui vocabatur buccaporci, atque Benedictus, ambo preclari et consolidatores nostri, i.e.*, of the German party.

[2] *Reg. Farf.*, n. 651: *Temporib. Sergii IV. Pp. et Johis patricii Romanor., et Crescentii et Ottonis insimul comitum rectorumq. territor. Sabin. m. Aug. per. Ind. IX.*; and *Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 115: *Temporib. Domni Johis Senat. Rom. patricii.*

[3] *Reg. Farf.*, n. 649, 689, 690. In n. 649 the Patricius commands the Prefect to summon the parties. A *memoratorium* was drawn up *per patricialem preceptionem*; all this *dum resideret infra domum suam predic. dom. patricius una cum . . . domino prefecto, simulque cum eis optimates et judices Romanorum. Joh. Dni gra. Romanor. patricius*, first signs himself, then *Crescentius Dni gra. Urbis rome prefectus.* The judices are the *ordinarii*, to them are added the *dativi*, then counts and *nobili* as assistants. In n. 689, *in pres. d. patricii et judicum atque nobilium Senatorum.*

his unfortunate father; he also dreaded the Roman expedition of Henry II. The Pope desired the King's presence, the Patricius strove to keep him at a distance. John's envoys held negotiations with Arduin and even with Boleslaw of Poland with the object of detaining the King on the other side of the Alps.[1] While John ruled in Rome, plundered S. Peter's and appropriated property belonging to the Church, he flattered King Henry as his overlord by letters and presents, but strove in every way to hinder his coronation. His rule, which was only possible in the absence of an emperor, filled the interval until the next imperial coronation. He died, however, in the beginning of the year 1012, before Henry's arrival, and his death restored a measure of freedom to the Papacy, while at the same time it smoothed the path of the German King to Rome.[2] That we know so little of a Patricius who for ten years retained the government of the city, withheld the temporal power from the popes, and who, during the same length of time, restored civic freedom to the Romans, is solely due to the defective chroniclers. The son of the celebrated Crescentius must have been a man of vigorous character,

Death of John Crescentius, 1012.

[1] *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II.*, by Siegfried Hirsch, vol. ii., completed by Herm. Pabst, Berlin, 1864, p. 383.

[2] Thietmar (vii. c. 51) relates that he sent the King (*seniori suo*) miraculous oil. He calls him *apost. sedis destructor . . . qui cum non longe post obiret . . . papæ securitas, regi nostro amplior potestas asseritur.* The Patricius John is mentioned on July 1, 1011 (*Reg. Farf.*, 649), and for the last time on December 11, 1011 (*Reg. Farf.*, 689). There is no mention of him on March 27, 1012 (*Reg. Farf.*, 690), but the Prefect and his brother Marinus appear (probably) in his stead.

although of his measures in the city we are entirely ignorant. His death, which was soon followed by the death of Pope Sergius, caused the overthrow of the Crescentii.[1] This family, which shines in the barbarism of the Middle Ages like some family of barbarous Gracchi or Bruti, and which courageously made war against popes and emperors, long survived in the Sabina. In Rome, however, where for upwards of a century the name Crescentius is of frequent occurrence, the family never attained any further degree of importance.[2] It left the field vacant for the Counts of Tusculum, who immediately arose, long tyrannised over Rome, and transformed the Chair of Peter into a hereditary possession.

[1] The epitaph of Sergius IV., which bears no date, is still to be read in the Lateran. A document of the same Pope (Grant of the *Castrum Scuriæ*) *dat. III. Kal. Aprilis A. MX.*, in Theiner's *Cod. Diplom. Dominii Temp. S. Sedis*, i. n. vi., shows that even under the rule of the Patricius the popes continued to administer the Church property.

[2] There are several epitaphs of the Crescentii of this period. One, for instance, in S. Cosma and Dam. of the 6th April 1000 (Galletti, *Inscr.*, iii. 271); another in Araceli: *Hic jacet in parvo magnus Crescentius antro*, &c., erected in 1028 to the dead by his mother Mizina, wife of the Consul Horatius (Casimiri, p. 272). The Magnus is the playful antithesis to "Parvus"; we need not necessarily suppose that it refers to the city prefect. Horatius Crescentius is not mentioned elsewhere. The epitaph of Mizina in S. Alessio is given by Nerini, p. 325.

2. Gregory, elected Pope, is expelled by Theophylact or Benedict VIII. — Henry decides in favour of the Tusculan Pope—Journey to Rome and Imperial Coronation of Henry II. (1014)—Condition of Rome and Roman Territory, where hereditary Counts have arisen—The Roman Nobility as Senate — Romanus, Senator of all the Romans—Imperial Tribunal —Suppressed Revolt of the Romans—Return of Henry II.—End of Arduin, the National King.

The party of the Crescentii, it is true, raised Gregory, a Roman, to the papal chair, but the new Pope was immediately overthrown by his Tusculan opponent. Theophylact, son of Gregory of Tusculum, with his brothers forced a way into the city: the two factions fought for the possession of the tiara and the civic power until Theophylact expelled his rival, forcibly seized the Lateran, and, from the condition of layman, caused himself to be consecrated Pope as Benedict VIII. These events took place in May 1012.

Benedict VIII. Pope from 1012 until 1024.

In the absence of any emperor the Roman nobility had resumed the right of election; the banished Gregory, however, hastened to the King in Germany to demand his rights. Henry took his papal insignia and comforted him with the promise that on his arrival in Rome he would cause the dispute to be investigated in canonical form.[1]

[1] Thietmar, vi. c. 61. The confusion which Baronius and Muratori make between Benedict and the fugitive Gregory has already been

Envoys of Benedict VIII. had also arrived at the German court; the Tusculan Pope hastened to secure the Chair of Peter, while he gained the dreaded King to his side.

Henry II. abandoned the perhaps canonically elected Gregory to his fate, and permitted a Tusculan count to remain Pope.[1] Benedict VIII., supported by the power of his house, established himself in the pontificate; he banished the Crescentii; the Prefect of the city bearing the name was dismissed, and John, another Roman, installed in the office; the most influential posts fell into the hands of the Tusculan party.[2] But no one ventured

Henry II. King of the Romans.

rectified; Pagi and Mansi have also corrected the chronology. Jaffé's opinion, that Benedict VIII. was consecrated on June 22, is not tenable, although a diploma of Sergius IV. is dated June 16, 1012 (in Baronius). In the *Acts of Subiaco*, Benedict VIII. appears as Pope as early as May 1012: *Bened. VIII., A. 1 m. Madio die V.;* and 1016: *A. V. Bened. VIII. Ind. XIV. m. Madio die XXI.* (*Cod. Sessor.*, ccxvii. p. 263). In the *Reg. Farf.*, n. 670, his second year is mentioned on May 23, 1013: *Bened. VIII. Pape in S. Sede II. Ind. XI. m. Maji d. XXIII. Chron. Farf.*, p. 542, says: *Patricio . . . mortuo, ordinatus est dom. Benedictus papa, qui contrarius exstitit filiis Benedicti comitis.*

[1] The papal catalogues designate Benedict VIII. as *frater Alberici majoris*, or *nat. tusculanus ex Patre Gregorio.* Benno, *Vita Hildebr.*, 83: *Bened. VIII., laicus frater Albrici Tusculanensis, patruus Theophylacti* (*i.e.*, of Benedict IX.). *Catal. Eccardi* also calls Benedict VIII. Theophylact: *Theophylactus qui et Benedictus ex patre nob. Gregorio tusculano, matre Maria.* A document of August 2, 1014 (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 525), is signed *Thfpfklbctke qui Benedictus papa vocor interfui et subscripsi:* Muratori rightly reads "*Theophylactus*" out of these letters.

[2] On December 4, 1015, a *Joh. dni gr. Urbis Rome præfectus* appears beside the Consul Alberic (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 535). On August 20, 1017, however, a Crescentius reappears as Prefect (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 537). I do not take him to have been the brother of Marinus. On

to usurp the dignity of the patriciate, which was adjudged to the German King; the Pope, however, placed his brother at the head of the administration and of justice. The "most illustrious Consul and Dux" Alberic, already under Otto III. magister of the Imperial Palatinate, dwelt in his ancestral palace near Santi Apostoli and here held courts of justice as the Patricius John had done in former days.[1]

Meanwhile, after having assured Benedict through an envoy of his recognition, and having received in return the promise of his coronation as emperor, Henry set forth on his journey to Rome. He celebrated the Christmas of 1013 at Pavia, and forced Arduin to retire to his march of Ivrea. While the national party in Rome was weakened by the death of the Patricius, the bold Piedmontese still wore the purple of the King of Italy. This great title only once corresponded to its signification, namely, when the beautiful country was actually united under the sceptre of the Goths; all kings, however, who henceforward adorned themselves with the title, bore it in virtue of a kingdom which they did not entirely possess. Arduin, who called nothing his own but a

June 9, 1019, *Marinus german. Crescentii olim urbis rome prefecti* (*Reg. Farfa.*, n. 557), while a document of November 23, 1019, says: *Cresc. dni gr. urbis rome præf.* (Mittarelli, i. n. civ.). On June 17, 1036, a Crescentius once more appears as Prefect of the city (*Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 73); while on November 15, 1036, Marinus says precisely as in 1019: *Crescentio olim prefecto germano meo* (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 620). There were innumerable Crescentii at this period.

[1] *Reg. Farf.*, n. 670. Trial in favour of Farfa of May 23, 1013, *intra domum Alberici eminent. Consulis et Ducis juxta Ss. Apostolos* (where the Palazzo Colonna now stands).

few towns and mountain territories, may, nevertheless, claim the glory of having been the last national King of Italy before the days of Victor Emmanuel. He made the attempt to exclude the foreigner from Italy, but saw the German King march to Rome and was powerless to interrupt his progress.

Roman journey of Henry II.

Henry met the Pope in Ravenna; then departed for Rome, whither Benedict had preceded him. Here the faction of the Crescentii was still numerous and was headed by John and Crescentius, nephews of the Patricius. Agents of Arduin, in alliance with these two men, stirred up the people to oppose the restoration of the Imperium, which they had banished from Rome fifteen years before. But the sight of Henry's mail-clad troops quelled the efforts of the National party, and the German King was greeted on his entrance by the people with hymns of praise, according to ancient custom.[1] He and his wife Kunigunde were received at the gate of the Leonina by the Scholæ. Twelve Senators surrounded them, six of whom wore long beards, the rest were beardless, all carried wands in their hands and "mystically" walked onwards. It is possible that these twelve men represented the regions of the city, with the exception of Trastevere and the Leonina, both of which quarters stood under papal administration.[2]

Henry II. Emperor, 1014.

On February 14, 1014, the coronation took place in S. Peter's according to the traditionary forms. The new Emperor dedicated the royal crown which

[1] "Annal. Quedlinb. A. 1014" (*Mon. Germ.*, v.).

[2] *A Senatoribus duodecim vallatus, quorum sex rasi barba, alii prolixa mistice incedebant cum baculis.* Thietm., vii. c. 1.

he had hitherto worn to the Prince of the Apostles, and a symbol of his imperial power, with which he had been presented by the Pope, namely a gold imperial globe surmounted by a cross, to the monastery of Cluny. According to the interpretation of the time the globe denoted the world, its fourfold jewels the cardinal virtues, the cross the duty of the Emperor towards Christ, or to the Pope, who, as his representative, arrogated to himself the power of exalting kings into emperors.[1] A banquet in the Lateran closed the solemnity, and both parties may well have been content: Henry had restored the Imperium to his nation; Benedict awaited the restoration of the State of the Church.

During the disturbed years of Otto III.'s reign the estates of S. Peter, as many as yet remained to the Church, were exposed to fresh raids, and the rule of the Patricius John had finally deprived the popes of all political power. Hereditary counts had sprung up on both sides of the Tiber.[2] The

[1] Rodolphus, *Historiar.*, i. c. 5 (Duchesne, iv.). The imperial globe is already to be seen on the seals of the Ottos. It had long been in use in Byzantium.

[2] Almost every place of consideration had its counts at this time. Here and there the count was also called *Consul et Dux; Roffredo Consul et Dux Campanie—habitatori de Civitate Berulana* (Véroli) A. 1012 (*Reg. Petri Diaconi*, n. 273). A. 1013, *Ubertus Consul et Dux* and *Amatus Comes Campanie*. A. 1015, *Ubberto Comes*. *Ibid.*, n. 331, n. 268. In *Leo of Ostia*, ii. c. 32: A. 1015, *Landuino et Raterio consulibus Campanie*. The title of Consul survived in Gaeta beside that of Dux, and even in Fundi. The deeds from Ceccano, Veroli, Ferentino, Posi, Ceperano, in the possession of Monte Casino, show many Lombard names, such as Umbert, Rofred, Lando, Landulf, Grimo, remaining even in the eleventh century.

Tusculans ruled in the Latin mountains, the lords of Ceccano or of Segni, preferably called Counts of Campania, in the Campagna; the Crescentii bore sway in the Sabina; the family of the Counts of Galeria spread over Tuscany; the Frankish race of Thrasmundus, Berardus, and Oderisius had thus early advanced from the Marsian territory as far as Subiaco.[1] The feudal system was shattering the ancient State of the Church, the bishops had acquired the rights of counts, and of the dominion founded for them by the Carolingians the popes possessed little beyond the yellowed deeds of gift in their archives. Benedict VIII. added to these parchments a ratification of the Emperor, known in the series of privilegia as Henry's Diploma. This deed entirely resembles Otto's charter, with the exception of some codicils concerning Fulda and Bamberg; the original document is not forthcoming, the doubtful copy bears no date, and various reasons

The Counts in the Campagna.

[1] The *Chronicle of Farfa* frequently mentions the Marsian Counts from sæc. xi. onwards. They professed to trace their descent from King Bernard, the grandson of Charles the Great. Their arms were 6 green hills on a field of gold. Mutius Phöbonius, *Historiæ Marsorum*, Neapoli, 1678; Corsignani, *Reggia Marsicana*, Nap., 1737 (lib. ii. 262); Antinori, *Mem. storiche degli Abruzzi*, Napoli, 1781. The country of the Marsi, at first Valeria, then Abruzzo, belonged to the duchy of Spoleto. The *Comites Campaniæ* date from the time of Alberic; Amato was *Comes Campaniæ* about 1010 (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 649). His family intermarried with the Crescentii, his son Gregory marrying Maroza, daughter of Octavian and Rogata (Maroza's will of November 1056, in which she bequeaths her estates *positas in comitatu campanie* to Farfa, *Reg. Farf.*, n. 960). There were Counts of Tuscany, Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, of Galeria, where Joh. Tocco was *Comes* in 1027 (Marini, n. 45).

combine to render it probable that the diploma does not belong to the year 1014.[1]

The Roman Nobility.

More important to us would be the knowledge of the constitution of the city, the temporal possession of which Benedict VIII. had again seized. But thick darkness veils the inner life of Rome at this period. The appearance of senators in charters, if not singly at all events collectively, the solemn greeting which Henry received from twelve men bearing the title, go to prove that the recollection of the ancient Senate had become increasingly vivid from the time of Otto III. until it led to the actual restoration of the august institution. The nobility who continued to bear an illustrious title meanwhile formed a close senatorial body and possessed the magistracy and judicial power in the city.

It claimed the right of the imperial election as also the right of the papal election, and its consent had doubtless been obtained and heard before the coronation of Henry II. We have no knowledge of the Comitia or of the political nature of this rude nobility, which in the beginning of the eleventh century walked as senators amid the ruins of the city. Their names have occasionally come down to us in documents, in which we encounter well-known families of the time of the Ottos, but

1 The diploma *Ego Henricus* (in Deusdedit, Albinus, Cencius, Theiner, *Cod. Dipl. Dominii Temp.*, i. n. vii.) has been correctly attributed by Cenni to the year 1020. See also *Mon. Germ. Leges*, ii. 173. Bonizo (in Oefele, p. 800) says: *Romanæ Eccl. privilegia multa concessit et dona amplissima dedit.*

again we meet no single Roman who subscribes himself "Senator." For the special dignity of universal Senator of the Romans still endured; it shows that the civic institutions remained similar to those of the tenth century. Secular Rome, whether the popes owned dominion therein or not, was a republic of nobles under the presidency of a head, who, according to circumstances, was either chosen by the Romans, or was given them by the pope.

Romanus Senator of all the Romans.

Benedict VIII. made his brother Romanus head of this republic, as Senator of all the Romans, or perhaps the Emperor flattered the Tusculan in awarding him this dignity, while he himself was Patricius of Rome, without, however, assuming the title.[1] The Senator was Prince of the nobility, whom he assembled, whose votes he either led or ruled at the papal election. He was also probably head of the militia, but above all was chief of the civil court. In 1013 we saw Alberic the Consul and Dux holding courts of justice as president of the civil tribunal; two years afterwards, however, his brother reappears in possession of the civic magistracy as Senator of all the Romans, Alberic on the other hand simply as consul, and later again as Count Palatine.[2] For the ancient titles of Consul

[1] Thietmar, vi. at the end: *m. Febr. in Urbe Romulea cum ineffabili honore suscipitur, et advocatus S. Petri meruit fieri.* This undoubtedly is equivalent to Patricius.

[2] Alberic appears as Count Palatine in 1027 (Marini, n. xlv.) and 1028 (Instrument of S. Maria Nova, *Mscr. Vat.*, 8043, without enumeration of pages). The *Graphia* says, not without foundation: *Comes autem Cesariani palatii dictator Tusculanensis est.* The Tusculans usurped this office from the time of Otto III. On Decem-

and Dux survived for some time longer both in Rome and Roman territory.

The Emperor, moreover, established his own tribunal as his predecessors had done. Hugo of Farfa here brought an action against the Count Crescentius, who still continued to harass the abbey as in Otto III.'s time. During the rule of the Patricius he had again wrested some fortresses from the convent, and his brother John laughed the Pope to scorn from his stronghold of Palestrina, to which the troops of Benedict VIII. laid siege in vain. As the Emperor now sat in judgment and, presenting the accusing abbot with a staff, awarded him the fortress, he summoned the Pope to unite his militia with the imperial troops and to march to the Sabina. A revolt in Rome, however, drove both parties from the tribunal.[1] The hatred of the Romans, who were in league with Arduin and the Margrave of Este, broke forth with violence eight days after the coronation. They hoped to overpower the Germans in a sudden onslaught, and the bridge of Hadrian became the scene of wild carnage, which found the accustomed issue. After the time of Otto I. these tumults were repeated at almost every coronation, and consequently may be regarded as the closing scene of the solemnity. As often as the emperors-designate entered Rome,

Insurrection in Rome.

ber 4, 1015, in the trial between the Abbot Hugo *et Dom. Romanum Cons. et Ducem, et omn. Rom. Senatorem atque germanum Dom. pontificis*, are present: *Albericus Consul* and *Johes dni. gr. Urbis Rome Præfectus.*

[1] Statement of the Abbot Hugo, in *Chron. Farf.*, p. 519.

they were greeted with the official hymns, but on their withdrawal from S. Peter's or from the Lateran table, the infuriated populace arose to drive forth the foreigners from the city, and the Emperors of Rome frequently left with the haste of fugitives, after having trailed their new purple through deep streams of blood.[1]

Henry caused the authors of the revolt to be carried in chains across the Alps: he himself departed on his return to Germany, laden with curses as with the treasures of Italian cities, or with the property of which he had deprived his enemies. He caused several counts of Central and Northern Italy to be arrested as hostages; many of these men had been taken into custody in Rome, whither they had come invited to the imperial coronation; but scarcely had he departed when the prisons were opened and these vassals vindictively drew their swords to fight with Arduin against the foreign Emperor. Meanwhile the exertions of a party among the Italians to throw off the German imperial power remained unsuccessful, since North Italy, divided into greater and lesser margravates, counties, and immune bishoprics, no longer possessed the strength it had possessed in the time of Berengar. The last national King of Italy saw himself restricted to a small Piedmontese territory, attacked by counts

[1] Thietmar, vi. 61. Three Lombard brothers in the imperial army, Hugo, Azzo, and Ezzelino, were the promoters of the tumult. Provana tries to prove that they were the sons of Oberto II. of Este, an opinion already accepted by Leibnitz (*Rer. Brunsvicar*, iii. 26). It is, however, doubtful, and does not accord with Muratori (*Antich. Esten.*, i. c. 13, 14).

and bishops of the German party; and, deserted by his vassals and despised by the Emperor, he at length threw aside his sword and hid himself in the cowl of S. Benedict to die in the monastery of Fructuaria (1015).[1]

End of King Arduin.

3. Vigorous Rule of Benedict VIII. in Rome—His undertakings against the Saracens—Rise of Pisa and Genoa—Southern Italy—Rebellion of Melus against Byzantium—First Norman Hordes (1017)—Unhappy Fate of Melus—Benedict VIII. summons the Emperor to undertake a Campaign—Expedition of Henry II. to Apulia (1022).

Within the city itself Benedict VIII. was strengthened and secured by his now dominant party. While the Pope divided the civic power with his own family, he succeeded in subjugating the Roman nobles and the captains or feudal vassals in the Campagna. Romanus, for a long time head of the civic government, helped his brother to retain the papal chair.[2] The Crescentii in the Sabina sub-

[1] Arduin's presumably Frankish genealogy does not reach beyond his father Dado, a petty count in Piedmont. Provana, *Studj critici sovra la Storia d'Italia a' Tempi del Re Ardoino*, Turin, 1844; and excursus on Arduin's family by Pabst, in the *Jahrb. des deutsch. Reichs*, ii. 458. Herman Pabst continued the history of Henry II. by Siegfried Hirsch contained in this collection, and added the section treating of Henry's expedition to Rome. The talented young man found a hero's death before Metz. Harry Breszlau then wrote a third volume to complete the history of Henry II., 1875.

[2] Mabillon (*Annal.*, iv. app.) quotes a letter of the Abbot Haly-

mitted to the Pope, who led his troops against them in person. Benedict, moreover, was a man of judgment and energy, who inherited the warlike instincts of his house. Like John VIII. and John X. he also possessed sufficient political shrewdness to restore the Papacy, which his predecessors had restricted to the narrowest limits of activity, to the level of an Italian power.

The Saracens had again appeared to inspire fresh terror. In Southern Italy they harassed Salerno; they landed in Tuscany, where they burnt Pisa; they made themselves masters of Luni. Benedict exerted himself to form an allied fleet in 1016; and himself led an army against the unbelievers. A great victory and valuable spoils were the result. The leader of the Moslem (called by Arab historians Abu Hosein Mogêhid, by Christian Musettus) having, however, escaped to Sardinia after the battle of Luni, the Pope effected an alliance with the seaports of Pisa and Genoa. Mogêhid was driven from the island, which soon after itself became a Pisan colony.[1] The Saracens

nard of Dijon: *Domno illo s. palatii vestrario primo senatori nec non unico Romanorum Duci Equivoco,* somewhere about 1030. Curtius consequently believes that an Equivocus was the successor of the Senator Romanus, and Galletti (*Del vestar.*, p. 54) boldly sets up a Vestrarius Equivocus. Neither recognises the meaning of the writer, who thus expresses the name Romanus (*æquivocum* Romani). The letter is addressed to Romanus, the brother of the Pope, Vestrarius of the Palace, head of the republic of nobles in Rome.

[1] Amari, *Storia de' Musulmanni in Sicilia*, iii. 2. According to Arab sources Mogêhid (a Christian renegade) had been banished from Sardinia in June 1016.

In earlier times, when menaced by the Saracens, the popes had formed a league with the southern republics of Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta; with the eleventh century, however, Pisa and Genoa suddenly emerge out of the long darkness of childhood as flourishing cities, which if not yet entirely free, nevertheless inaugurated the glorious period of the city republics of Northern Italy.[1]

At the same time events in the South were in process of development which were destined to have a profound influence on the Papacy and on Rome. The ancient rule of the Greek Emperor, the heir of Belisarius and Justinian, was to be finally extinguished, and the ruins of the Lombard duchy, Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, were to be removed, in order to make way for a kingdom founded by brigand adventurers, who united these fair provinces for the first time in a political whole. After the defeat of Otto II. the Greeks had regained possession of Calabria and Apulia, and had advanced into Campania. Their Katapan dwelt in Bari, a vampire of those provinces, which languished in the deepest misery under the constant raids of the Saracens, and the warfare incessantly waged between them, the Greeks, the Lombards, and the sea-ports.

The Lombard race in Southern Italy made a

[1] With the greatest accuracy, Thietmar, vii. c. 31. The oldest chronicle of Pisa (*Bernardi Marangonis vetus Chron. Pisan.*, *Archiv. Stor.*, vi. p. 1) says: *A.* 1016 *fecerunt Pisani et Januenses bellum cum Mugieto in Sardiniam, et gr. Dei vicerunt illum.* Nothing is said of the Pope. Compare Tronci, *Annali Pisani*, the *Cronaca Pisana* of Sardo, and Roncioni, edited by Bonaini (*Archiv. stor.*, vi. 1, 2).

sudden effort, however, to throw off the Greek yoke. Melus, a distinguished nobleman of Bari, a man of lofty character, with his brother-in-law Dattus revolted as early as 1010.[1] Melus sought allies: at Mons Garganus he found pilgrims from Normandy; he pointed out the condition of the country and invited them or their compatriots to take service under his rebel standard. The Prince of Salerno, a city which had been delivered from its Saracen besiegers by forty Norman heroes, expressed the like wishes. Thus it came to pass that Melus was enabled to take the field against the Greeks at the head of a newly acquired body of Normans. These adventurers, under the leadership of Giselbert, a knight who had quitted his country under a charge of murder, had been accorded an honourable reception in Rome by Benedict VIII., who further encouraged them in the design of serving under Melus against the Greeks. Thus a chance encounter led to the alliance between Rome and the Normans which was to be followed later by such eventful issues.

Revolt of South Italy under Dattus and Melus, 1010.

Melus himself had no idea that in these valiant mercenaries he was introducing conquerors into his native land. His rebellion, so zealously furthered by the Pope, failed in spite of all its heroic valour. In the beginning of October 1019, he was utterly routed at the ancient Cannae by the Katapan Bugianus; he left Italy, hastened to Bamberg to

[1] Concerning this memorable rebellion, see De Blasiis, *La Insurrezione Pugliese e la conquista Normanna nel secolo XI.*, Napoli, 1864, and Harry Breszlau, *Heinrich II.*, 3rd vol. p. 147 *seq.*

seek aid from the Emperor, and there died in April 1020 as "Duke of Italy."[1]

The progress of the Greeks, to whose side Pandulf IV. of Capua had now seceded, terrified the Pope. He feared the strengthening of the Byzantine power, which threatened the independence of the Papacy and its aims in Southern Italy, while the Crescentii had regained their influence in Rome.[2] He also went to Bamberg at Eastertide 1020; he demanded that Henry should drive the Greeks from the frontiers of Rome and restore the imperial power in Southern Lombardy. After the magnificent festival of the consecration of his favourite cathedral, and after a sojourn in company with the Pope at Fulda, Henry dismissed his guest with the promise of his speedy arrival and a diploma wherein he confirmed the Church in her possessions.[3]

The Pope goes to Bamberg.

Benedict called with increasing urgency on the Emperor. The Katapan already threatened to march into Roman territory, and to punish the Pope who had so zealously furthered Melus's rebellion.

Progress of the Byzantines in South Italy.

[1] *Annal. Barens.*, Lupus Protospata ad A. 1019. Concerning the arrival of the Normans, see Rodolfus Glaber, iii. c. 1, but above all *Aimé l'Ystoire de li Normant*, c. 17 *seq.*: Giselbert came with four brothers, *Raynolfe*, *Aséligime*, *Osmude et Lofulde;* they came at the invitation of the Prince of Salerno . . . *et passèrent la cité Rome*, *et vindrent à Capue*, &c. According to the document, n. 279 in vol. iv., *Monum. Regii Neapol. Archivii*, however, Normans had been settled in Campania since 1008: *Sansguala dominus planisi qui sum ex genere normannorum.*

[2] A Crescentius had been Prefect of the city since 1017. See the note to page 15.

[3] On this document, see Ficker, *Forsch. zur ital. Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. 362; H. Breszlau, *Heinrich II.*, 3, 168.

Supported by Athenulf, Abbot of Monte Casino and brother of Pandulf of Capua, he surprised the tower on the Garigliano, in which the Pope had placed the remainder of the Norman legion under the command of Dattus, in June 1021. He dragged this captain a prisoner to Bari and there had him thrown into the sea.[1] The rule of the Greeks in Apulia seemed secured, since the Lombard princes acknowledged themselves as vassals of the Byzantine Emperor. They even built a fortified town in the neighbourhood of Benevento, to which they gave the immortal name of Troy, and it appeared as if Benevento, where Pandulf V. ruled, would itself fall under their sway. By a bold march the Byzantines might have reached Rome; the Greek general, however, halted irresolute on the Garigliano, and in December Henry, coming from Augsburg, appeared in Verona.

His rapid march to the South in the beginning of the following year was crowned with victory. He himself pushed through the Marches with the main body of his troops, other forces were led by Pilgrim of Cologne and Poppo of Aquileja past Rome and through the Marsian territory to Campania; Greek as well as Lombard fortresses surrendered. Even Troja, to which the Emperor himself laid siege, capitulated. Pandulf of Capua was banished to Germany and Pandulf of Teano appointed in his

Henry II. subjugates South Italy, 1022.

[1] *Leo of Ostia*, ii. c. 37, 38. The *Turris de Garigliano* was built by Pandulf of Capua after the defeat of the Saracens, as the inscription recorded: *Princeps hanc turrim, Pandulfus condidit heros. Heros*, lord or signor, is often used in South Italian chronicles.

place; after Athenulf had met his death while flying to the sea, the Abbey of Monte Casino was awarded to Theobald, an adherent of the German party. The remainder of the Norman horde under Torstayn were rewarded with estates in Campania, while the nephews of Duke Melus were designated vassals of the Empire. After Henry had restored the imperial power in a part of Apulia and had prayed as a pilgrim on Mount Garganus, he marched to Rome, where he merely lingered a few days in July, and advanced homewards through North Italy. He held a Council with the Pope in Pavia, and thence returned to Germany in the summer with the remains of an army which fever and pestilence had almost annihilated.[1]

4. Beginning of the Reform under Benedict VIII.—Death of Benedict, 1024—His Brother Romanus as John XIX.—Death of Henry II., 1024—Condition of Italy—John XIX. summons Conrad of Germany to Rome—Spectacle offered by the Expeditions to Rome of the time — Imperial Coronation (1027)—Furious Insurrection of the Romans—King Canute in Rome.

Benedict showed himself a Pope of no common energy. Contrary to the traditions of his house he had re-established a close alliance with the Empire

[1] Herm. Contr. A. 1022; Leo of Ostia, ii. 39. The Abbot Athenulf was drowned near Hydruntum. Twenty-four Normans still remained under their captains, Gosman (Guzman), Stigand, Torstain, Balbus, Walter of Canosa, and Hugo Fallucca. Amatus, i. c. 28. Concerning this military expedition of Henry II., see the paragraphs respecting it in Giesebrecht and H. Breszlau.

in order to maintain himself in possession of Rome, and to subdue the hostile powers in Italy. Through his means the Papacy recovered its relations to the world, and strove to regain its lost influence over the national churches. We may even extol Benedict VIII. as one of the earliest reformers of Church discipline; since he already opposed the marriage of the clergy and the sale of spiritual dignities.[1] Nevertheless the vigour which he infused into the Church was merely a personal one, and after his death both the Church and the Papacy sank into a condition of the most utter barbarism.

On his death in June 1024, the papal chair remained in the possession of his family. His brother Romanus, hitherto Senator of all the Romans, boldly assumed the papal vestments, after having acquired the votes of the electors either by purchase or by force. He was ordained as John XIX. in the spring of 1024.[2] Once in the possession of the senatorial dignity he seems to have retained it even as Pope. His brother Alberic at least, to whom the title ought now to have passed, is never mentioned

Romanus, Pope John XIX., 1024–1033.

[1] Thus at the Council of Pavia, 1018 or 1022. Mansi, xix. 323; *Mon. Germ. Leges*, ii. 562. The Synod of Nicea had already condemned the concubinage of priests.

[2] Almost all the catalogues call John XIX. *fil. Gregorii patricii*, or *frater Alberici majoris*. Bonizo ad amic., p. 801: *uno eodemque die præfectus fuit et Papa.* The *præfectus* is erroneous. *Uno eod. die et laicus fuit et Pontifex:* Romuald Salernit., p. 167. Glaber, iv. c. 1: *largitione pecuniæ repente, ex laicali ordine neophytus constitutus præsul.* Jaffé places his consecration between June 24 and July 25. I know of a document which mentions his ninth year as early as May 1, 1032; *anno Joh. XIX. in sede IX. Imp. Chuonrado a. VI. Ind. XV. m. madio die I.* (*Monte Casino, Ex dipl. Princ. Caps.*, 12, n. 24).

as Senator in any document, but is merely called, as hitherto, Count Palatine and Consul.[1]

The new Pope was apparently anxious to ally himself with Byzantium, and when the Emperor Basil II., the greatest man of the Macedonian dynasty, sent him handsome presents, was ready to bestow the title of an œcumenical bishop on the Greek patriarch. The Italian bishops, however, and the congregation of Cluny violently opposed the bestowal of the title, and only now apparently did its significance become clear to the Pope. In his blissful ignorance the Senator of all the Romans was scarcely acquainted even by name with the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, and had had but little opportunity for studying the history of the Church.[2]

Death of the Emperor Henry II., July 13, 1024.

The Emperor Henry II. died on July 13, 1024. In the uncertainty as to whom the German crown should fall, his death roused the hopes of Italy for a moment. The nobles, however, no longer ventured to elect a national king from among themselves. In vain they offered the crown to Hugo, son of King Robert of France, and even to William, Duke of Aquitaine, a powerful prince, whose marriage with Agnes, grand-daughter of Adalbert,

[1] A. 1026, Bull of John XIX. for Silva Candida: *fratre nro. Dno, Alberico Comite Palatii*, Marini, n. xlv.; Mansi, xix. 487. In the instrument already quoted of January 8, 1028: *Albericus ill. et clar. Comes s. Lateran. Palatii.* Notwithstanding, the papal catalogues incorrectly call him Patricius, like his father Gregory.

[2] Concerning this, see Rudolf Glaber, iv. c. 1. (1024): *at licet pro tempore Philargyria mundi regina queat appellari, in Romanis tamen inexplebile cubile locavit.* Glaber also gives the letter of William, Abbot of S. Benignus in Dijon, to John XIX.

the former King of Italy, had given him a semblance of legitimacy. Italy was divided into so many governments and parties that it was impossible for her to pursue any common national interest. The German faction also remained strong in Lombardy, where it was supported by the bishops, creatures, or favourites of the emperors. The nobles, on the other hand, whom the emperors had weakened by the increase of the episcopal power, were at variance among themselves, as were also the now rising cities.

Conrad II., King of the Germans and Romans, 1024.

The Salic Conrad II., elected King by the Germans on September 8, soon afterwards received the homage of the Lombard bishops, above all of the powerful Heribert of Milan. He steadily upheld the principle that every German king was also ruler of Italy and Emperor-designate of the Romans, a principle in which he was supported by the German bishops. John XIX. also added his invitation, sending the Bishop of Portus and the Roman Berizo of the Marmorata with the banner of S. Peter, which he was to bear in the Hungarian war. The Pope's letters also assured Conrad of the peaceful possession of the imperial crown which awaited him.[1]

Conrad II. took the Iron Crown from the hands of Heribert at Milan in the spring of 1026. He revenged himself on the spirited city of Pavia, which had destroyed the palace of Henry II. and had shut its gates against Conrad himself, by laying waste its territory. He thence went

[1] Bonizo, p. 801 : *Belinzo nobiliss. Romanus de Marmorata ;* the name is given in documents as Berizo or Belizo.

to Ravenna, where the people rose to slay the foreigners, until the outbreak of hatred was quenched in streams of blood. In our century we cannot contemplate the spectacle of these Roman journeys of our ancestors with entire satisfaction, but are forced to commiserate Italy, which, although the cause of the expeditions, had to endure them for upwards of three hundred years. When the German kings descended the Alps, accompanied by their armies and glittering retinues, the cities were condemned to feed and lodge these hosts, and to maintain the imperial court, and even the ordinary jurisdiction was suspended on the arrival of the supreme judge. Into the empty coffers of the emperor flowed as gifts or extortions the treasures of the cities, the sweat of the coloni, oppressed alike by spiritual and secular vassals, and the forfeited estates of hundreds of rebels. The imperial army, composed of rude soldiers of northern, even of Slavic countries, terrified the sober Italians, endowed by their southern temperament with a greater refinement—a people which in every age has surpassed all others in courtesy of manners. What wonder if, at the sight of the excesses of these troops, who regarded Italy simply as an enslaved province of their king, the Italians asked themselves in sullen rage why their country should be condemned to the eternal yoke of the foreigner, and if, in their savage indignation, revolts constantly took place in the cities through which the procession passed on its way to Rome. But the iron majesty of an emperor in the Middle Ages scarcely bestowed a glance of pity on smoking towns, down-trodden

fields, streets covered with corpses, or prisons filled with traitors. He accepted, as an accompaniment to his progress, the sight of the noblest citizens of a municipality prostrating themselves trembling and with naked feet before his throne, an unsheathed sword at their necks, and their pallid faces illumined by the flames of the still burning town.

Imperial coronation of Conrad II., 1027.

The hostile cities, even Pavia, at length yielded before the weapons of the brave Conrad. He reduced the Margraves of Este, of Susa and Tuscany to obedience, and entered Rome unopposed. John XIX. crowned him and his wife Gisela with great splendour in S. Peter's on March 26, 1027, in the presence of two kings—Rudolf III. of Burgundy and Canute of England and Denmark.[1] The solemnities were disturbed by the childish ambition of the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, each of whom claimed precedence. The quarrel between these arrogant prelates was shared by their retinues; Rome was terrified by a fight between the Milanese and Ravennese in the streets, but nevertheless the customary closing scene of the coronation had not yet taken place. It was not, however, omitted: a chance dispute between a Roman and a German concerning a miserable ox-hide, sufficed to rouse the populace to fury. After awful carnage,

[1] *Vita Meinwerei*, Ep. p. 153; *Mon. Germ.*, xiii.; Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, n. 16; Arnulf, *Gesta Archiep. Mediol.*, ii. c. 3, and note 70; *Mon. Germ.*, x. 12. The *bas. apostolorum*, where Conrad was crowned, is S. Peter's, which was dedicated to the two apostles. For this visit to Rome, see H. Breszlau, *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Reichs unter Conrad II.*, Leipzig, 1879, vol. i., especially excursus v.; Giesebrecht, vol. ii.

"innumerable" Romans again stood before the throne of the Emperor in the palace of S. Peter, the noblest burghers of the city, trembling, barefooted, a naked sword hanging at their necks, and implored pardon at his feet.[1]

King Canute in Rome.

The sight of these horrors might have appalled the devout heart of King Canute, not because his civilisation raised him above the level of his age, but because a beautiful dream was thus dispelled. In pursuance of a long-cherished desire and a pious vow, he had come, as a pilgrim with wallet and staff, to the sacred city, and instead of the asylum of love and peace which, according to the ideal conception, Rome should have presented, he found a tumultuous arena for the play of all factions and passions. The city of Rome, it must be admitted, was during the Middle Ages merely the terrible caricature of an exalted idea. In his letter to the English people dated thence, Canute left a naïve memorial of his sojourn in the city. He informed his subjects that he had worshipped at all the Roman shrines and was therefore the happier, since the sages (that is to say, the priests) had taught him that Peter had received power from the Lord to bind and to loose, and consequently it was of great avail to have an advocate with the Lord in the bearer of the keys of heaven. He recounted with childlike joy that he had received an honourable welcome from the illustrious assembly of all the princes who gathered round the Pope and

[1] Wipo, *Vita Chuonr.*, n. 16. Berengar, son of Count Liutbold, fell in the fight. The Emperor caused him to be buried beside Otto II.

Emperor from Garganus to the Tuscan sea, and that a journey free of imposts had been accorded him for all Angles and Danes, pilgrims as well as merchants. The intelligent prince further released the archbishops of his kingdom from the heavy tax for the pallium, but promised the just payment of Peter's Pence to Rome.[1] Even the scenes of terror, of which he had been a witness, failed to lessen the reverence of the barbarian monarch for the sacred city. In the fulness of his heart he explained to his subjects that he had vowed to God in Rome to rule his people justly and to atone for the errors of his youth by the judgment of his riper years. It is an excellent letter and a striking testimony to the incalculable moral power of the faith which the sanctity of Rome inspired at this period.

[1] *Et denarii, quos Romam ad s. Petrum debetis* (Letter of *Cnuto Rex* in William of Malmesbury, *De gest. Reg. Anglor.*, ii. c. xi.). The present financial distress of the Pope has revived the tax and the name of Peter's Pence in the form of small contributions. The commission appointed to collect these alms in Rome was raised to the dignity of an *Archiconfraternitas* by Pius IX. in November 1860. The historian surveys the tenacity of ecclesiastical traditions with astonishment.

5. Rescript of Conrad II. concerning Roman Law in Papal Territory—His glorious Expedition to Southern Italy—His return—Benedict IX., a Boy of the Tusculan House, is raised to the Papacy — His dissolute Life — Terrible condition of the World at large—The Treuga Dei—Benedict IX. escapes to the Emperor — Social Revolution in Lombardy—Heribert of Milan—The Emperor re-establishes Benedict IX. in Rome—He goes to South Italy — His Death, 1029.

Conrad's brief sojourn in the city was not merely restricted to the bestowal of the customary privileges on monasteries of which we read.[1] To this time probably belongs an imperial rescript, in which it is decreed that, on account of the constant disputes between Lombard and Roman judges, all cases in Rome and Roman territory, where Lombard law had hitherto been employed, should henceforward be adjudicated according to the Code of Justinian. The Constitution of Lothar of the year 827 thus expired, and Roman law became virtually exalted into territorial law, a complete victory of the Roman nationality over the German elements which had forced their way into the country. Among these elements a general process of disruption set in at this time throughout Italy, while the old Roman

[1] In the *Cod. Amiatinus*, p. 646 (Sessoriana in Rome), the Privilegium, for M. Amiata is dated *ann. D. Incarn. MXXVII. Regni vero Dom. Chuonradi secundi regnantis III. Imperii ejus primo Ind. X. Acta in civitate Leonina Non. April.* He therefore lived in the palace beside S. Peter's.

municipal forms, under annually elected consuls, revived and supplanted the foreign institutions.[1]

Conrad's departure from Rome.

Conrad left Rome in the beginning of April for Southern Italy, where he strengthened the prestige of the empire. Then, returning through the Marches of Spoleto and Camerino, found himself in Verona on May 24. His warlike and experienced arm, his commanding severity, his justice, exacted from the Italians fear and respect for the ruler whose rapid march had been the triumph of a Cæsar. His own people received him with the proud consciousness that this unsettled Italy had become a submissive province of the empire.[2]

John XIX. henceforward ruled peacefully in Rome. The Papacy as well as the city remained in the power of his family, which after his death was able to place one of its members on the Sacred Chair. Christianity, however, must have been appalled by the sight of a boy, who, clad by his father in the papal vestments, was solemnly crowned by the cardinal bishops, and was set on the throne of the apostle as the representative of Christ. The notorious John XII. became Pope at eighteen. Theophylact or Benedict IX., however, who belonged

[1] *Mon. Germ. Leges*, ii. 40: *Chuonradus Aug. Romanis judicibus: Audita controversia quæ hactenus inter vos et Langobardos judices versabatur—sancimus, ut quæcumque admodum negotia mota fuerint, tam inter Romanæ urbis menia, quam etiam de foris in romanis pertinentiis, actore Langobardo vel reo, a vobis dumtaxat Romanis legibus terminentur.* We may notice here also that the Emperor exercised complete sovereign authority over the State of the Church. The Lombard judges, nevertheless, did not yet disappear, and counts still upheld Frankish law here and there in the country.

[2] Herm. Contractus: *subactaque Italia tota reversus.*

to the same family, had scarcely attained the age of twelve. What a condition of society, when nations submissively accepted a child as ruler of the Church, when kings acknowledged him, and when bishops were not ashamed to receive consecration and the symbols of their dignities or bulls at his hands! The Papacy appeared to have lost its ecclesiastical ideal, the episcopal chair of Peter seemed to be transformed into the seat of a count. Nothing at least any longer distinguished it from the narrowed conception of the bishoprics of this age in every country, to the seats of which powerful princes and noble families raised their relatives or their creatures, and occasionally even mere children. A moral darkness fell upon the Church. If in earlier times Christ had slumbered in His temple, He now seemed to have completely abandoned His desecrated sanctuary, and to have surrendered it into the hands of the insolent Simon Magus.

The youthful Theophylact was the nephew of his two predecessors, and son of the Count Palatine and Consul Alberic.[1] After the death of John XIX. in January 1033 his father hastened to secure the two highest offices to his family; arms and money proved effectual aids in Rome, where everything was venal, and where, according to the dictum of a later pope, Victor III., the clergy lived in

[1] *Cod. Amiatin.*, p. 652, A. 1036: *Temp. S. P. Benedicti nati de Tusculana ex patre Alberico.* The *Cronica Romanor. Pontif.* in Cencius, the *Catalogues*, Bonizo, speak of his parentage in the same terms. Rudolf Glaber (iv. c. 5) even calls him *puer fere decennis*, and adds that the rulers of the time were all children. A boy was undoubtedly made Archbishop of Rheims.

utter barbarism. The boy Benedict IX. took possession of the Lateran unopposed at the beginning of 1033.[1] He had three brothers, Gregory, Peter, and Octavian, the first of whom (since he immediately seized the patrician power) must have been older than himself. We may consequently ask ourselves why Gregory did not cause himself to be elected pope. It is probable that the Romans were more willing to tolerate a child in the capacity of bishop than as head of their secular government. This insolence, however, on the part of the Counts of Tusculum overthrew the power of their house, which a child pope was unable to uphold. His brother Gregory was consequently placed at the head of the civic government; although, from fear of the Emperor, he did not adopt the title of Patricius, but merely called himself Consul and apparently Senator of all the Romans.[2]

Benedict IX., Pope, 1033–1048.

With the development of his physical powers the young Pope, seated on the chair of Peter, entered on a career of shameless profligacy. One of his successors in the pontificate, Victor III., related that Benedict IX. robbed and murdered in Rome;

Profligate career of Benedict IX.

[1] Victor III. (*Dialog.*, lib. iii.) says: *non parva a patre in populum profligata pecunia, summum sibi sacerdotium vendicavit.* That Benedict IX. was already Pope in March 1033 is shown by a document from Fabriano (*anno deo propiciu pontificatu Domno Tufelato.* Mittarelli, ii. ap. xxii. 48). Jaffé thinks it probable that Benedict IX. was Pope before January 27, 1033.

[2] *Cum successisset ei* (sc. Johanni XIX.) *Theophylactus—Gregorius frater ejus nomen sibi vendicabat Patriciatus.* Bonizo, *ad Am.*, p. 801. He could scarcely have borne this title: documents call him simply *Consul Romanor.*; also *lateranensis et tusculanensis comes.* Coppi, *Memor. Colonn.*, p. 18 *seq.*

he admitted that he shuddered to confess how profligate and vicious his life had been. Another contemporary, Rudolf Glaber, a monk of Cluny, has painted the hideous form of this monster against the background of his time, when pestilence and famine devastated the whole of Europe. A moral as well as a physical epidemic had attacked the world. In order to form an idea of its horrors, we must read the chronicles of the time. From these horrors, however, sprang the humane law of the divine peace, the Treuga Dei, first promulgated by the bishops of Southern France. This act of beneficence, than which that time affords none more pleasing, redounds to the glory of the Church, showing, as it does, that even amid such terrible conditions the sacred flame of love was not entirely extinguished on its altar. The abundant harvests, however, which accidentally followed, soon caused the people to forget their afflictions, and the pious monk bewails the weakness of human nature which, having narrowly escaped the punishment of God, again plunged into every vice, the nobles and the Pope leading the way.[1]

In Benedict IX. the Papacy reached the utmost depth of moral degradation. The existing conditions of Rome were apparently such as would cause us to modify our opinion even of the period of John XII., or, did we minutely compare one time with the other, would be found to surpass in wickedness the later times of the Borgias. Only an

[1] Glaber, *Histor.*, iv. c. 5. The Treuga Dei, established in 1041, lasted from sunset on Wednesday evening until daybreak on Monday.

uncertain glimmer, however, falls on these days when the Vicar of Christ was a Pope more boyish than Caligula, more criminal than Heliogabalus. We dimly see the captains of Rome conspiring to strangle the youthful delinquent at the altar on the feast of the Apostle. Terror, however, produced by an eclipse of the sun, perhaps prevented the deed, and allowed Benedict time to escape.[1] The faction of the Crescentii may have been the most active in this tumult,[2] but the design failed, and the Pope was destined to live for many years to the misfortune of Rome and the disgrace of the Church. He went later (in 1037) to the Emperor at Cremona, to place himself under Conrad's protection, but how and where he had spent the interval is unknown.[3]

Revolution of the vavasours in Lombardy.

Conrad had marched to Italy in the winter of 1036, summoned by a very remarkable movement in Lombardy. The feudal system was suffering an

[1] According to Glaber (iv. c. 9) on June 29. The dates are confused. *Vita Benedicti ex Amal. Auger.* Mur., iii. 2, 340, assumes an expulsion *post promotionem*. Astronomical calculations prove that a ring-shaped solar eclipse took place on June 29, 1033, which was seen very clearly in Rome soon after mid-day. I obtained this information from the astronomer Herr Oppolzer of Vienna. Giesebrecht assumes 1035 to have been the year of the Pope's flight; Löwenfeld (new edition by Jaffé) 1036.

[2] I have already observed how documents, from the year 1017 onwards, show the rise of the Crescentii. On June 17, 1036, Crescentius and others of his kinsfolk ceded *Castrum Apolloni* (Empulum near Tivoli) to the monastery of Subiaco. As sons of Crescentius there are named Regetellus and Raino or Rainuccius (*Reg. Sublac.*, 73).

[3] He ceded estates near Albano to the monastery of Grotta Ferrata in May 1037. Documents *mense maio*, *Ind. V.*, locality unknown, but probably from Rome: *Studi e Docum. di storia e diritto*, Rome, 1886, p. 5.

internal revolution. The smaller vassals or vavasours, who held their land in fief from the dukes, counts, bishops, and abbots, rose against the tyranny of their overlords. They demanded a permanent arrangement of property. With the disaffected were allied the proprietors who possessed the land free of service, and whose liberty was continually threatened by the bishops. The Lombard Heribert, since 1018 Archbishop of Milan, the most powerful prince of North Italy, feudal lord over many towns and vassals, an imperious and powerful man, was the cause of this long prepared crisis coming to a head. The movement soon spread among all classes and the German empire was involved in the strife.[1] The freemen and the feudal knights rose in revolt against the archbishop, and formed a Lombard union. Heribert at length called on the Emperor, and Conrad had probably long desired an opportunity of humbling the great bishop, who possessed a power in Lombardy which might prove more formidable to the empire than that of the national King Arduin had been. Heribert refused to obey Conrad's decision at the court of Pavia, and the Emperor caused him and three other bishops to be imprisoned without a trial. The sudden arrest of the greatest prelate in Italy provoked an incredible sensation and bitter indignation against the Emperor, who now appeared to the Italians in the light of a despotic tyrant. The prisoners escaped to Milan, the hatred of which, as also that of other cities, to the German imperial power

[1] H. Pabst, *De Ariberto II. Mediolanensi primisque medii ævi motibus popularibus*, Berlin, 1864.

allowed the archbishop to appear as the representative of the Italian national cause. Thus began the first successful national war of the city of Milan and its allies against the German kings.

It was during this movement in North Italy, and after Conrad had issued the feudal law which confirmed the vassals in the inheritance of their property, that Benedict IX. appeared before the Emperor in Cremona.[1] The chief monarch of the West was obliged to stoop to do honour to a profligate boy, because the boy was pope, and the Emperor required a pope. Benedict or his advisers demanded that Conrad should come to Rome and reinstate him on the papal throne. In return for this request Benedict pronounced the excommunication, desired by Conrad, of the proscribed Archbishop of Milan. It was not only the affairs of Rome which demanded the Emperor's presence; it was also rendered necessary by the disturbances in Apulia, where the Prince of Capua, Pandulf IV., now restored to the throne, oppressed towns far and wide, sacked the imperial convent of Monte Casino, and threatened the Roman Campagna.

Conrad's expedition to Rome, 1038.

Conrad, therefore, started for the South in the winter of 1037. From revolted Parma, which he left a smoking heap of ruins, he marched to Perugia and celebrated Easter at Spello with the Pope. It is uncertain whether Benedict IX., after having left Cremona, returned to Rome, whether he sought the Emperor as an exile, or already awaited him as a fugitive. Suffice it, that Conrad brought or sent

[1] Herm. Contr., 1037, and Wipo, *Vita Conradi.*

him back to Rome.[1] If the Emperor had given ear to the complaints which the Romans raised against Benedict IX. he must have hesitated before lending his support to this youthful criminal; but the idea of delivering the Roman Church from conditions so disastrous lay far from his mind. His aims were entirely political; it was, moreover, for his own advantage to uphold the Tusculans, who were supporters of the German interest, in power, and to make use of the papal puppet for his own ends. The grateful Benedict hurled an excommunication at the head of the proud Heribert, who, behind the three hundred towers of Milan, laughed at the childish effort; and Conrad, who had perhaps left a garrison behind him with the wretched boy in Rome, advanced to Monte Casino. On May 13 he entered Capua, from which Pandulf had fled; he gave the duchy to Prince Waimar of Salerno, and invested the Norman Rainulf with Aversa. The town, founded in 1030 by this leader of the Norman band in the service of Duke Sergius of Naples, became the nucleus of the rising Norman kingdom in Southern Italy. Pestilence broke out in Conrad's army and drove him back in the summer. He himself carried death with him to Germany, where he breathed his last on June 4, 1039.

Death of the Emperor Conrad II., June 4, 1039.

[1] Thus R. Glaber seems to represent it, where he speaks of the conspiracy of the Romans: *a sede tamen propria expulerunt. Sed—tam pro hac re, quam aliis insolenter patratis, Imper. illuc proficiscens propriæ sedi restituit.* It is uncertain whether the Emperor was himself in Rome; his wife Gisela had made a pilgrimage to the city. (Wipo, c. 37.)

CHAPTER II.

1. The Romans drive Benedict IX. out of the City and raise Sylvester III. in his stead—Sylvester driven forth by Benedict — Benedict sells the Sacred Chair to Gregory VI.—Three Popes in Rome—A Roman Synod resolves to summon Henry III. to Rome as deliverer.

Many years passed away before the new German King came to Italy; Henry III., the son and successor of Conrad, was young, vigorous, and God-fearing; a noble prince called, like Charles and Otto the Great, to restore Rome, to deliver it from tyrants, and to reform the almost annihilated Church. For the Papacy had been still further dishonoured by Benedict IX. It seemed as if a demon from hell, in the disguise of a priest, occupied the chair of Peter and profaned the sacred mysteries of religion by his insolent courses. Henry III. German King.

Benedict IX., restored in 1038, protected by his brother Gregory, who ruled the city as Senator of the Romans, led unchecked the life of a Turkish sultan in the palace of the Lateran. He and his family filled Rome with robbery and murder; all lawful conditions had ceased.[1] Towards the end of

[1] A Roman document of August 22, 1043, is signed: *Gregorius Consul, frater supradicti Dni. Pape, interfui.* Nerini, p. 387.

1044, or in the beginning of the following year, the populace at length rose in furious revolt; the Pope fled, but his vassals defended the Leonina against the attacks of the Romans. The Trasteverines remained faithful to Benedict, and he summoned friends and adherents; Count Gerard of Galeria advanced with a numerous body of horse to the Saxon gate, and repulsed the Romans. An earthquake added to the horrors in the revolted city. The ancient chronicle which relates these events does not tell us whether Trastevere was taken by assault after a three days' struggle, but merely relates that the Romans unanimously renounced Benedict, and elected Bishop John of the Sabina to the Papacy as Sylvester III.[1]

The Romans drive Benedict IX. away.

They elect Sylvester III.

John, however, also owed his elevation to the gold with which he bribed the rebels and their leader, Girardo de Saxo. This powerful Roman had first promised his daughter in marriage to the Pope, and afterwards refused her[2]; for the Pope had not

[1] *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, fol. 201*a*: *Cum ejecissent pontificem—orta est inter Romanos et Transtiberinos grandis seditio—VII. die m. Jan. Romani in fugam versi sunt propter comites qui veniebant per montanam sc. Girardo rainerii et ceteri cum multis equitibus, qui erant fideles dicti pont.* The important notices of this Codex have been edited by Pertz (*Mon. Germ.*, vii.) as *Annales Romani*. I quote from the Codex itself. The events are also given in Herm. Contr. A. 1044, Victor III. (*Dialog.*, iii.), Bonizo (*ad Amic.*, p. 801), who represents the election of Sylvester III. as due to Girardo de Saxo and other captains. Leo of Ostia, ii. c. 79.

[2] Gerardus Rainerii was Count of Galeria, Girardo de Saxo another person. In the time of Sylvester II. a Rainer was Bishop and a Gerard Count of the Sabina (Fatteschi, *Serie*, p. 253): in 1003 Rainerius and Crescentius were Counts and Rectors of the Sabina (*Ibid.*, p. 254) and Gerard must have been son of the former. A Frankish family in the Sabina. Another conjecture of Tomassetti's

hesitated in all seriousness to sue for the hand of a Roman lady, a relative of his own. Her father lured him on with the hope of winning her, but required that Benedict should in the first place resign the tiara. The Pope, burning with passion, consented and fulfilled his promise during the revolt of the Romans. He was mastered by the demon of sensuality; it was reported by the superstitious that he associated with devils in the woods, and attracted women by means of spells. It was asserted that books of magic with which he had conjured demons had been found in the Lateran.[1] His banishment meanwhile aroused the haughty spirit of his house, and anger at Gerard's treacherous conduct proved a further incentive to revenge. His numerous adherents still held S. Angelo, and his gold acquired him new friends. After a forty-nine days' reign, Sylvester III. was driven from the apostolic chair, which the Tusculan reascended in March 1045.[2]

Sylvester III. is expelled, 1045.

Benedict now ruled for some time in Rome, while Sylvester III. found safety either within some fortified monument in the city or in some Sabine fortress, and continued to call himself Pope. A

"Della Campagna Romana" (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, 1882, v. 76), that Gerard may possibly have been a Tusculan, I mention, but do not accept.

[1] Benno, *Vita Hildebrandi*, p. 82, gives him as teacher in the magic arts the Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi, who had been the pupil of Sylvester II. Gregory VII. also learnt magic from these two men.

[2] Murat., iii. 2, 341. *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, says of Sylvester III.: *obtinuit pontificatum diebus XLVIII., quo ejecto benedictum pont. reduxerunt in sede sua.* Bonizo, p. 801: *Gregorius Patricius et Petrus germani Theophylactum sbe conjugis deceptum ad Pontificalia iterum sublevant fastigia.*

beneficent darkness veils the horrors of this year. Hated by the Romans, insecure on his throne, in constant terror of the renewal of the revolution, Benedict eventually found himself obliged to abdicate. The Abbot Bartholomew of Grotta Ferrata urged him to the step, but he unblushingly sold the Papacy for money like a piece of merchandise. In exchange for a considerable income, that is to say, for the revenue of Peter's Pence from England, he made over his papal dignities by a formal contract to John Gratianus, a pious and rich archpriest of the church of S. John at the Latin Gate, on May 1, 1045.[1] Could the holiest office in Christendom be more deeply outraged than by a sale such as this? And yet so general was the traffic in ecclesiastical dignities throughout the world, that when a pope finally sold the chair of Peter the scandal did not strike society as specially heinous.

Gregory VI., Pope, 1045–1046.

John Gratian, or Gregory VI., set aside the Canon law with a defiant courage which perhaps was only understood by the minority of his contem-

[1] A document of 1043 calls him *Dn. Johes Archicanonicus s. Joh. intra portam Latinam* (Nerini, App. n. v. 388). *Cod. Vat.*, 1984: *per cartul. refutavit Joh. archipbr. s. Johis ad port. latinam suo patrino in die kal. Majas, qui posuerunt nomen Gregorius, qui etiam pontificatum tenuit ann. I. et m. VIII. minus d. XI.* Benno (*Vita Hildebr.*, p. 83) states the price to have been 1500 pounds; *Cod. Vat.*, 1340, 2000 pounds. Victor III. also says: *non parva ab eo accepta pecunia.* Pagi appeals to Benizo's *Epitome* against Baronius, without any knowledge of the *Liber ad Amicum. Nefando ambitu seductus*, says Bonizo there, *per turpiss. venalitatem omnemq. Rom. popul. ingentib. pecuniis datis sibi jurare cœgit* (p. 801). Bonizo was a younger contemporary and Bishop at Sutri as early as 1075. The notices of the *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, are also contemporaneous.

poraries; he bought the Papacy in order to wrest it from the hands of a criminal, and this remarkable Pope, although regarded as an idiot in that terrible period, was possibly an earnest and high-minded man. Scarcely had Peter Damiani knowledge of this traffic when he wrote to Gregory VI. on his elevation, rejoicing that the Dove with the olive branch had returned to the Ark.[1] The Saint may have known the Pope personally and have been persuaded of his spiritual virtues. Even the chroniclers of the time, who represent him (assuredly with injustice) as so rude and simple that he was obliged to appoint a representative, are unable to fasten any crime upon him. The Cluniacs in France and the congregations of Italy all hailed his elevation as the beginning of a better time, and side by side with this simonist Pope a young and brave monk suddenly appears, who, after the heroic exertions of a lifetime, was to raise the degenerate Papacy to a height hitherto undreamed of. Hildebrand first issues from obscurity by the side of Gregory VI.; he became the Pope's chaplain, and this fact alone proves that Gregory was no idiot. How far Hildebrand's activity already extended, whether he had any share in Gregory's illegal elevation, we do not know; but in the "representative" spoken of by the

The monk Hildebrand.

[1] *Nunc aureum Apostolor. sæculum, et præsidente vestra prudentia, ecclesiastica refloreat disciplina.* Damiani's Ep. i. to Gregory VI. (there are two letters), Oper. i. Ep. lib. i. In lib. viii. there are also two unimportant letters (4 and 5): *Dom. Alberico Senatoriæ dignitatis viro*, and *D. Petro Senator. dign. viro.* The monk was also in correspondence with the Tusculans. Alberic's wife was called Ermilina.

chronicles, we may easily recognise the gifted young monk, who was Gregory's counsellor, and who later took the name of Gregory VII. in grateful recollection of his predecessor.

While Benedict IX. pursued his wild career in Tusculum or Rome, Gregory VI. remained Pope for nearly two years. His desire was to save the Church, which stood in need of a drastic reform and which soon afterwards obtained it. The Papacy, lately a hereditary fief of the Counts of Tusculum, was utterly ruined; the Dominium Temporale, the ominous gift of the Carolingians, the box of Pandora in the hand of the popes, from which a thousand evils had arisen, had disappeared, since the Church could scarcely command the fortresses in the immediate neighbourhood of the city.[1] A hundred lords, the captains or vassals of the pope, stood ready to fall upon Rome; every road was infested with brigands, every pilgrim was robbed; within the city the churches lay in ruins while the priests caroused. Daily assassinations made the streets insecure. Roman nobles, sword in hand, forced their way into S. Peter's itself to snatch the gifts which pious hands still placed upon the altar. The chronicler who describes this state of things extols Gregory for having repressed it. The captains, it is true besieged the city, but the Pope boldly assembled the militia, restored a degree of order, and even conquered several fortresses in the district. Sylvester

Contest between Gregory VI. and the captains.

[1] *S. R. Ecclesia—terrenas opes majori ex parte amisit*, thus sighed Gregory VI. Money was collected in Aquitaine to restore S. Peter's and S. Paul's. Gregory's letter in Mansi, xix. 611.

had apparently made an attempt on Rome; he was, however, defeated by Gregory's energy. The short and dark period of Gregory's pontificate was terrible, and his severity towards the robbers soon made him hated by the nobles and even by the equally rapacious cardinals.[1]

Whatever he may have done under the influence of French and Italian monks to rescue the Church from its state of barbarous confusion, it was, as in the time of Otto the Great, by the German dictatorship alone that it could be saved. The exertions of Gregory VI. soon ceased to bear any result; his means were exhausted, and his opponents gradually overpowered him. So utter was the state of anarchy that it is said that all three Popes lived in the city at the same time; one in the Lateran, a second in S. Peter's, and a third in S. Maria Maggiore.[2] The eyes of the better citizens at length turned to the King of Germany. The Archdeacon Peter convoked a Synod without consulting Gregory, and it was here resolved urgently to invite Henry to come and take the imperial crown and raise the Church from the ruin into which she had fallen.

[1] William of Malmesbury, ii. c. 13, who calls him *magnæ religionis et severitatis. Catalog. Eccardi: fuit factus homo armorum.* The accounts confuse history and legend. Glaber Rod., v. c. 5: *cujus bona fama, quidquid prior fœdaverat, in melius reformavit.* The *Annals* of Baronius for this period are defective and uncritical.

[2] Otto of Freising (*Chron.*, vi. 32).

2. Henry III. comes to Italy—Council at Sutri (1046)—Abdication of Gregory VI.—Henry III. raises Clement II. to the Papacy—Clement crowns Henry Emperor—Description of the Imperial Coronation—Transference of the Patriciate to Henry III. and his Successors.

Henry III. comes to Rome, 1046.

Henry, coming from Augsburg, crossed the Brenner, and arrived at Verona in September 1046, accompanied by a great army and filled with the ardent desire of becoming the reformer of the Church.[1] No enemy opposed him; the bishops and dukes, among them the powerful Margrave Boniface of Tuscany, did homage without delay. The Roman situation was provisionally discussed at a great Synod in Pavia. Gregory VI. now hastened to meet the King at Piacenza, where he hoped to gain the monarch to his side. Henry, however, dismissed him with the explanation that his fate and that of the anti-popes would be canonically decided by a Council.

The Council of Sutri, 1046.

Shortly before Christmas (1046) he therefore assembled the bishops and Roman clergy at Sutri. The three Popes were summoned, and Gregory and Sylvester III. actually appeared. Sylvester was deposed from his pontificate and

[1] Concerning his expedition to Rome and relations with Italy, see Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, vol. ii., and E. Steindorff, *Jahrb. des Deutsch. Reichs unter Heinrich III.*, vol. 1, 2, Leipzig, 1874, 1881. In excursus iii. (vol. i.) Steindorff deals with the schism between Benedict IX. and Sylvester III., and denies the statement, maintained by Giesebrecht, that there were three Popes in Rome at one and the same time.

condemned to penance in a monastery. Gregory VI., however, gave the Council cause to doubt its competence to judge him. Gregory, who was an upright man, or one at least conscious of good intentions, consented publicly to describe the circumstances of his elevation, and was thereby forced to condemn himself as guilty of simony and unworthy of the papal office.[1] He quietly laid down the insignia of the Papacy, and his renunciation did him honour. Henry, with the bishops and the Margrave Boniface, immediately started for the city, which did not shut its gates against him; for Benedict IX. had hid himself in Tusculum and his brothers did not venture on any resistance. Rome, weary of the Tusculan horrors, joyfully accepted the German King as her deliverer. Never afterwards was a King of Germany received with such glad acclamations by the Roman people; never again did any other effect such great results or work the like changes. With the Roman expedition of Henry III. begins a new epoch in the history of the city, and more especially of the Church. It seemed as if the waters of the deluge had subsided, and as if from the ark, stranded on the rock of Peter, men came forth to give new races and new laws to a new world. What law, that stern and terrible power which kills, binds and holds together, signifies in human affairs, has indeed been experienced by few periods so fully as by that with which we have now to deal.

[1] Bonizo calls him *Idiota et mitæ simplicitatis vir.* Victor III., *Dial.*, iii.; Benzo, *ad Heinr. IV.*, vii. 761; Herm. Contr. A. 1046; *Chron. S. Benigni Divion* (d'Achery, vi. 446). *Cod. Vat.*, 1984.

Henry III.'s Synod in Rome.

A Synod, assembled in S. Peter's on December 23, again pronounced all three Popes deposed,[1] and a canonical Pope had consequently to be elected.

Like Otto III. before his coronation, Henry had also at his side the man who was to wear the tiara and to confer the crown upon himself. Adalbert of Hamburg and Bremen having refused the Papacy, the King chose Suidger of Bamberg. The royal command was all that was required to place the candidate on the sacred chair. Henry, however, would not violate any of the canonical forms. As King of Germany he possessed no right either over the city, or yet over the papal election; the right must first be conferred upon him, and this was done by a treaty which he had already concluded with the Romans at Sutri. "Roman Signors," said Henry at the second sitting of the Synod on December 24, "however thoughtless your conduct may hitherto have been, I still accord you liberty to elect a pope according to ancient custom; choose from amongst this assembly whom you will." The Romans replied: "When the royal majesty is present, the assent to the election does not belong to us, and when it is absent, you are represented by your Patricius. For in the affairs of the republic the Patricius is not Patricius of the pope but of the emperor. We admit that we have been so thoughtless as to appoint idiots as popes. It now behoves your imperial power to give the Roman republic the benefit of law,

[1] "Annal. Corbeiens," 1046 (*Mon. Germ.*, v.); in the Tuesday and Wednesday before Christmas.

the ornament of manners, and to lend the arm of protection to the Church."[1]

The Senators of the year 1046, who so meekly surrendered the valuable right to the German King, heeded not the shades of Alberic and the three Crescentii; since these, their patricians, would have accused them of treason. The Romans of these days were, however, ready for any sacrifice so that they obtained freedom from the Tusculan tyranny. Nothing more clearly shows the utter depth of their exhaustion and the extent of their sufferings than the light surrender of a right which it had formerly cost Otto the Great such repeated efforts to extort from the city. Rome made the humiliating confession that she possessed no priest worthy of the Papacy, that the clergy in the city were rude and utter simonists. All other circumstances, moreover, forbade the election of a Roman or even of an Italian to the Papacy. The Romans besought Henry to give them a good pope; he presented the Bishop of Bamberg to the assenting clergy, and led the reluctant candidate to the apostolic chair. Clement II., consecrated on Christmas day 1046, immediately placed the imperial crown on Henry's head and on that of his wife. There were still many Romans who had been eye-witnesses of the same transactions —that is to say, papal election and imperial corona-

He raises Clement II. to the Papacy.

[1] Benzo, vii. p. 679: *Seniores Romani, licet hactenus sive salsum sive insulum degistis—Ecce solito more sit in vestra electione*, &c. The passage explains the conception of the Patriciate in the time of Henry III. and Henry IV., and through the *Lib. Pont.* illustrates the right of the crown over the papal election.

tion following one another in immediate succession—in the case of Otto III. and Gregory V. who, as they now saw the second German pope mount the chair of Peter, may have recalled the fact that the first had only lived a few sad years in Rome and had died in misery.[1]

Imperial coronation of Henry III.

The coronation of Henry III. was performed under such significant conditions and in such perfect tranquillity, that it offers the most fitting opportunity for describing in a few sentences the ceremonial of the imperial coronation. Since Charles the Great, these repeated ceremonies, with the more frequent coronations or Lateran processions of the popes, which we shall describe later, formed the most brilliant spectacle in Rome.[2]

[1] Farewell letter of the new Pope to Bamberg in 1046. Pagi turns the passage *explosis tribus illis quibus idem nomen papatus rapina dederat* against Baronius.

[2] The most circumstantial account is given in the *Ordo Coronationis* in Cencius, which Cenni (*Mon.*, ii. 261) refers to Henry III., Pertz (*Mon. Germ.*, iv. 187) to Henry VI. It contains, however, many portions prior to the time of Henry VI. The non-appearance of the Senate speaks decidedly in favour of an earlier date than that assigned to it by Pertz. I have also made use of the *Ordo* of sæc. xiv. in Mabillon, *Mus. It.*, ii. 397. There are several *Ordines* of Frankish and Hohenstaufen times. Muratori, *Ant. It.*, i. 99; Hittorp in *Bibl. max. Patr.*, xiii.; Martene, Raynald, Cenni and Pertz; also "Chron. Altinate," *Arch. Storico*, App. v., and Benzo, *ad Heinr. IV.*, i. 9. G. Waitz, "Die Formeln der deutschen Königs und der römischen Kaiserkrönung vom 10 bis 12 Jahrhundert" (*Abh. der Kgl. Gesell. d. W. zu Göttingen*, 1873, xviii.), like Giesebrecht (ii. 658, 678), refers the *Ordo* of Cencius to Henry VI. The opinion that it refers to Henry III. has meanwhile been again upheld by J. Schwarzer, *Die Ordines der Kaiserkrönung*, *Forsch. zur Deutsch. Gesch.*, vol. xxii. (1882) p. 161 *seq.* See also Schreiber, *De ceremoniis—in imperatorib. coronandis*, Halle, 1871.

Coronation scene.

When the emperor elect approached with his wife and retinue, he first took an oath to the Romans at the little bridge on the Neronian Field faithfully to observe the rights and usages of the city. On the day of the coronation he made his entrance through the Porta Castelli close to S. Angelo and here repeated the oath.[1] The clergy and the corporations of Rome greeted him at the church of S. Maria Traspontina, on a legendary site called the Terebinthus of Nero.[2] The solemn procession then advanced to the steps of the cathedral. Senators walked by the side of the king, the prefect of the city carried the naked sword before him, and his chamberlains scattered money. Arrived at the steps he dismounted from his horse and, accompanied by his retinue, ascended to the platform where the pope, surrounded by the higher clergy, awaited him sitting. The king stooped to kiss the pope's foot, tendered the oath to be an upright protector of the Church,

[1] *Ego N. fut. Imp. juro, me servaturum Romanis bonas consuetudines, et firmo chartas tercii generis, et libelli sine fraude et malo ingenio* (*Ordo* in Cenni). *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, says of Henry V. : *duo juramenta ex more fecit, unum juxta ponticulum, alterum ante porticus portam ;* this can be none other than the *porta Castelli*, out of which the mediæval ordines, according to popular custom, made a *Porta Collina. Cum Rex in Imp. electus pervenerit ad portam Collinam, quæ est juxta castellum Crescentii*, thus the *Ordo Coronationis* A. 1311, in Raynald, n. x.

[2] I shall speak of the *Terebinthus Neronis* when dealing with the *Mirabilia*. A large ancient tomb stood there, the *Meta Romuli*, a pyramid like that of Cestius. *Usque in Meta, quæ vocatur Memoria Romuli* (*Bullar. Vat.*, i. 27, Bull of Leo IX. A. 1053). The Pyramid of Cestius was held to have been the tomb of Remus (*sepulcrum Remio*); it is thus already designated in the thirteenth century plan of the city (*Cod. Vat.*, 1960).

received from the pope the kiss of peace, and was adopted by him as the son of the Church. With solemn song both king and pope entered the church of S. Maria in Turri beside the steps of S. Peter's, and here the king was formally made Canon of the Cathedral.[1] He then advanced, conducted by the Lateran Count of the Palace and by the Primicerius of the Judges, to the silver door of the cathedral, where he prayed and the Bishop of Albano delivered the first oration. Innumerable mystic ceremonies awaited the king in S. Peter's itself. Here a short way from the entrance was the Rota Porphyretica, a round porphyry stone inserted in the pavement, on which the king and pope knelt. The imperial candidate here made his Confession of Faith, the Cardinal-bishop of Portus placed himself in the middle of the Rota and pronounced the second oration. The king was then draped in new vestments, was made a cleric in the sacristy by the pope, was clad with tunic, dalmatica, pluviale, mitre and sandals, and was then led to the altar of S. Maurice, whither his wife, after similar but less fatiguing ceremonies, accompanied him. The Bishop of Ostia here anointed the king on the right arm and the neck and delivered the third oration.[2]

If the emperor elect were filled by the dignity of

[1] The piazza of S. Peter's was called *platea, quæ vocatur Cortina* (*Bullar. Vat.*, p. 31, A. 1053). *S. Maria in Turri* stood close to the steps of S. Peter, and belonged to the monastery of S. Stephen beside S. Peter's. The ceremony which took place here does not seem to have been customary before the time of Frederick I.

[2] The orations pronounced over the king and queen are full of noble dignity.

his calling, then the solemnity of the function, the mystic and tedious pomp, the magnificent monotone of prayer and song in the ancient cathedral, hallowed by so many exalted memories, must have stirred his inmost soul. The pinnacle of all human ambition, the crown of Charles the Great, lay glittering before his longing eyes on the altar of the Prince of the Apostles. The pope, however, first placed a ring on the finger of the anointed, as symbol of the faith, the permanence and strength of his Catholic rule; with similar formulæ girt him with the sword, and finally placed the crown upon his head. "Take," he said, "the symbol of fame, the diadem of royalty, the crown of the empire, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; renounce the arch-fiend and all sins, be upright and merciful and live in such pious love that thou mayest hereafter receive the everlasting crown in company with the saints, from our Lord Jesus Christ." The church resounded with the Gloria and the Laudes: "Life and victory to the emperor, to the Roman and the German army," and with the endless acclamations of the rude soldiers who hailed their king as Imperator in German, Slav, and Romance tongues.[1]

[1] The sequence of ceremonies is occasionally varied in the *Ordines;* nor does the coronation seem to have been always performed in front of the altar of S. Peter; it appears as sometimes taking place before that of S. Maurice in the left aisle. The formulæ must have been deeply impressive:—*Accipe anulum, signaculum s. Fidei, soliditatem Regni, augmentum potentiæ, per quam scias triumphali potentia hostes depellere, hæreses destruere, subditos coadunare, et catholicæ Fidei perseverabilitati connectere.—Accipe hunc gladium cum Dei benedictione tibi collatum, in quo per virtutem Spiritus Sancti resistere, et*

The emperor divested himself of the symbols of the empire; and now ministered to the pope as sub-deacon at mass. The Count Palatine afterwards removed the sandals, and put the red imperial boots with the spurs of S. Maurice upon him. Whereupon the entire procession, accompanied by the pope, left the church and advanced along the so-called Triumphal Way, through the flower-bedecked city, amid the ringing of all the bells, to the Lateran.[1] At special stations were posted clergy singing praises and the scholæ or guilds placed to salute the emperor as he passed. Chamberlains scattered money before and behind the procession, and all the scholæ and the officials of the palace received the præsbyterium or customary present of money. A banquet closed the solemnities in the papal palace. Where circumstances permitted, the emperor made a procession to mass at the Lateran on the second

ejicere omnes inimicos tuos valeas, et cunctos s. Ecclesiæ Dei adversarios, Regnumque tibi commissum tutari, ac protegere castra Dei per auxilium invictissimi triumphatoris D. N. J. Christi, qui cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti vivit, et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. —Accipe signum gloriæ, &c. The different formulæ vary according to the period.

[1] The Lateran procession did not always take place. In later times, when the popes no longer dwelt in the Lateran, the coronation over, the procession went only as far as the piazza of S. Maria Traspontina, where emperor and pope separated. The *Ordo* in Cenni, however (a fact which Cenni himself overlooks), causes the procession to go to the Lateran, since only at the Lateran are the *Palatium majus* (the *Casa Major* of Pope Zacharias) and the *Camera Juliæ Imperatricis* to be found. Henry VI. did not make the procession to the Lateran; Henry III., however, must assuredly have done so, and it therefore follows that the *Ordo* does not refer to Henry VI.

day, one on the third to S. Paul's, and another on the fourth to S. Croce in Gerusalemme.

Such are merely the barest outlines of an imperial coronation of this period. The ceremonies, borrowed from Byzantine pomp, had been established since Charles the Great and had remained essentially the same, although in the course of time many details had been altered and others had been introduced. The magnificence of these spectacles is no longer rivalled by the pageantry of our days. The multitude of dukes and counts, of bishops and abbots, knights and nobles with their retinues, the splendour of their attire, the strangeness of their faces and their tongues, the martial array of warriors, the mystic magnificence of the Papacy with all its orders in such picturesque costume, the aspect of secular Rome, of judges and senators, of consuls and duces, of the militia with their banners, in curious, motley, fantastic attire; lastly, as the sublime scene of the drama, the stern, gloomy, ruinous city, through which the procession solemnly advanced: all combined to produce a picture of such mighty and universal historic interest that even a Roman accustomed to the pomp of Trajan's period could not have beheld it without feelings of astonishment. These coronation processions restored to the city its character of metropolis. The Romans of the time might flatter themselves that the emperors whom they elected still ruled the universe. The strangers who flocked to the city freely distributed their gold, and the hungry populace could live for weeks on the proceeds of the coronation. When, however,

patriots of the school of Alberic reflected that these emperors, who entered with such pomp, were Germans, who did not even understand their language, who arbitrarily appointed their popes, on whose march to Rome the cities of Italy fell to ashes, they suddenly seized their swords in indignation ; the furious populace rushed upon the Vatican to murder the scarce-crowned emperor, and the most beautiful picture in the history of the world was changed in a few moments into a blurred sketch of a struggle in the streets and finally effaced by streams of blood.

Henry III. assumes the power of the Patricius.

Henry III., however, had not to fear this outbreak of national hatred ; on the contrary, the Romans conferred the patrician power upon him immediately after the coronation, a power which was even to be transmitted to his successors in the empire. Nobles, citizens, and clergy confirmed with loud applause the important decree by which the city and the apostolic chair were rendered subject to the German crown. They experienced on this occasion only the empty satisfaction that rights so important had been conferred on the empire by the authority of the Roman people. Henry was solemnly crowned Patricius in S. Peter's ; a green chlamys, a ring and a golden diadem were the insignia of his civic authority.[1] The powerful Emperor con-

[1] *Indutus igitur rex viridiss. clamide, desponsatur patriciali anulo, coronatur ejusd. prelaturæ aureo circulo.* Benzo, *l.c.* . . . *decretum est* (by all classes of the Romans) *ut rex H. cum universis in monarchia imperii sibi succedentibus fieret patricius, sicuti de Karolo factum legimus.* Damiani, *Disceptatio synodalis* (Op. iii. 23, Paris, 1663) :

descended to assume the symbols of a magistracy which Roman nobles had previously borne, and thereby subjected himself to the reproach that he had lowered himself to the ranks of the Counts of Tusculum.[1] He might, however, fitly compare himself with Augustus, who had consented to accept the tribunician and other powers; he was also well aware that, in the eyes of Rome, the Patricius represented the supreme right of the Senate and people. This dignity thus received a higher significance than it had possessed in the time of Otto III., and it is further worthy of remark that an ancient Roman title acquired so great a degree of power in the Middle Ages and finally became one of the chief causes of long wars between the temporal and spiritual powers. The same chronicler, who disapproves of Henry's patriciate, observes that this empty title is found in neither the Pagan nor the Christian Fasti of Rome, that it originated with the Byzantine Narses, and that the Roman captains employed it in order to usurp the right of the papal election. Since the tenth century it had been definitely associated with the idea that it included the power of appointing the pope. This idea, how-

H. Imp. factus est patricius Romanor., a quibus etiam accepit in electione semper ordinandi pontificis principatum. Leo of Ostia, ii. c. 77. All this must have been previously arranged at Sutri.

[1] Bonizo, p. 802: *rumoribus populi illectus—tyrannidem Patriciatus arripuit, quasi aliqua esset in laicali ordine dignitas constituta, quæ privilegii possideret plus imperatoria majestate.* He is a partisan of the Papacy and an opponent of the imperial popes, consequently he says bitterly of Henry: *credidit per patriciatus ordinem se Romanum posse ordinare Pontificem.*

ever, was not derived from the Exarchs, but from Charles the Great, to whom, with the patriciate, Adrian had transferred the right of the election and investiture of the popes and bishops. Consequently, in the revolutions of Rome the temporal heads of the city henceforward called themselves Patricius, and as such elected popes.[1] Henry was not ashamed to add the patriciate legally to the empire. As Charles the Great had formerly called himself Patricius of the Romans, so was Henry distinguished by this title in documents.[2]

The Roman people had surrendered their sole surviving right to the German kings. Had they not been driven thereto by the clergy? The service which Henry had rendered the Church, through the suppression of the tyranny of the nobles and the adjustment of the schism, was so highly esteemed for the moment that it did not appear to be too dearly purchased even at the extreme price of the freedom

[1] *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, thus designates Henry's patrician power: *ordinationem pontificum ei concessit et eor. episcopor. regalia abentium: ut a nemine consecretur nisi prius a rege investiatur, almus pontifex una cum romanis et religiosis patribus sicut s. Adrianus p. et alii pont. confirmaverunt per privilegij detestationem in potestate regis H., qui in præsentia habetur et futuror. regum patriciatum et cetera sancivit et firmavit.* The union of the patriciate with the imperium which was effected by Henry III. was of importance, since the combination expressed not only the civic power but also the ancient rights of the S.P.Q.R. over the papal election. This is justly recognised by Heinemann, *Der Patriciat der deutsch. Könige*, 1888.

[2] Even Germans call him *Romanor. patricius:* "Vita Annonis," *Mon. Germ.*, xiii. 469. Again in 1049, during the vacancy of the papal chair, a Roman document calls him: *Ann. dei prop. domno Henrigo reg. franc. et patritio Romanor. Ind. II. m. Jan. d. XV. Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 81.

of the papal election. The few noble men among the clergy openly admitted that the German king had acquired this power in recompense of his services, as David had obtained the hand of the king's daughter as the reward of his victory over Goliath.[1]

In this moment of deliverance the Church appeared simply to rejoice in the present, seemed utterly unaware of the other tyranny which she had brought upon herself. The imperial power, as in Otto's time, was restored without limit in Rome; the election and investiture of the popes were made over to the German empire for good. Great revolutions and wars which shook the world were the consequences of the transference of the patriciate to the German crown. Had the youthful Hildebrand, the insignificant chaplain of the deposed Gregory VI., no prevision of the future as he saw the circlet of the patriciate placed on Henry's forehead? That the son of this powerful Emperor, thirty-one years later, would kneel in the dust, discrowned before him—the seventh Gregory—was assuredly far from his calculations.

[1] Damiani extols him in the *Lib. Gratissimus*, c. 36 (Op. i., ed. Cajetani): *hoc sibi non ingrata divina dispensatio contulit—ut videl ad eius nutum S.R.E. nunc ordinetur, ac præter ejus autoritatem Ap. Sedi nemo prorsus eligat sacerdotem.* And previously: *post Deum scil. ipse nos ex insatiabilis ore draconis eripuit.*

3. Beginning of the Reform of the Church—Henry III. goes to South Italy; returns to Germany by way of Rome—Death of Clement II. (1047)—Benedict IX. seizes the Sacred Chair—Boniface of Tuscany—Henry raises Damasus II. to the Papal Chair—End of Benedict IX.—Death of Damasus — Bruno of Toul appointed to the Papacy.

No sooner had another German bishop risen to the chair of Peter than the Church was seized by a spirit of reform. The great revolution which in this age found its hero in Gregory VII. was derived from the German popes.[1] The same Henry III. who placed four of his countrymen in succession on the apostolic chair, with fiery zeal prepared the way for this reform. Germany and Italy were now to be purified from the scandal of selling spiritual offices.

Reforms of Clement II.

Clement II. with the Emperor's assistance held his first Council against the abuse of simony in January 1047; at the end of the same month he accompanied the Emperor to South Italy. On his march through Latium Henry reduced some captains to obedience, without, however, subjugating the Tusculans.[2] We make no attempt to follow his progress to Monte Casino, Benevento, and Capua;

[1] These efforts for reform have been described by Cornelius Will, *Die Anfänge der Restauration der Kirche im* 11 *Jahrhundert*, Marburg, 1859, 1863.

[2] Herm. Contr. One of his diplomas for the *Casa aurea* is dated *Kal. Jan. actum ad Culumna Civitatem*, the present Colonna in the Latin mountains, Böhmer, 1552. I doubt whether this date is correct, since the Emperor dates again from Rome on January 3.

everywhere the mere presence of the great monarch sufficed to re-establish the imperial power. In the early spring he returned by Rimini and Ravenna to Germany, taking with him, as a prisoner of state, Gregory VI., who was accompanied by Hildebrand in his exile to Cologne. Not without reason was the deposed Pope removed from Rome; his presence in the city would probably have given rise to fresh disturbances. Clement had returned to Rome; the impression recently made by the imperial power in the city remained fresh, and might possibly have sufficed to secure him a short interval of peace. It could not have done more; for although the Romans had submitted to the imperial authority, they nevertheless continued to hate it as a yoke; and not even the most powerful emperor ever succeeded in subduing the city which he did not make his abode and where he left no garrison behind him.

From Tusculum meantime Benedict IX. watched the revolution in Rome: he had his agents in the city and awaited an opportunity of again seizing the Papacy. The German Pope died suddenly in the monastery of S. Thomas at Pesaro on October 9, 1047.[1] Benedict IX. immediately forced his way into the city, and with a sneer again seated himself upon the apostolic throne.

Death of Clement II., Oct. 9, 1047. Benedict IX. again Pope.

[1] Report asserted that Benedict had had him poisoned. Romuald and Lupus say with one voice: *Benedictus per poculum veneni occidit P. Clementem.* Herm. Contr.: *in Romanis partibus nono mense promotionis suæ diem obiens, ad episcopatum suum Babenberg reportatus tumulatur.* The only pope who was buried in Germany. Muratori, *Annal. ad A.* 1047, shows that he died near Pesaro, and Jaffé accepts October 9 as the date of his death. See also Steindorff, ii. 27.

Boniface of Tuscany had secretly aided his restoration. Boniface, the most powerful prince of the time in Italy, was of Lombard descent, was the grandson of Azzo the lord of Canossa, and had annexed a territory which necessarily made him hostile to the German interests. His father, the Margrave Tedald, had acquired Mantua and Ferrara, Brescia, Reggio, and Modena through the favour of Henry II., whose most faithful vassal he had remained during the war with the national King Arduin.[1] Tedald was able to bequeath a valuable property to his son Boniface, who at first allied himself no less closely to Germany. Appointed by the Emperor Conrad in the place of the refractory Margrave Rainer of Tuscany, Boniface henceforward ruled over this March also. After the death of his wife, Richilda, who was childless, he married Beatrix, daughter of Frederick, Duke of Upper Lorraine, and celebrated his nuptials in Italy with more than royal splendour.

Boniface of Tuscany and his family.

Beatrix bore him three children, Frederick, Beatrice, and in 1046 Matilda, who afterwards became his heiress and the later celebrated Countess of Tuscany.

Henry looked with mistrust on the great power of his vassal, more threatening than the power of Milan, which after Heribert's death had yielded submission and accepted the royalist archbishop Guido. On his return home the Emperor sought to seize the

[1] The Codex of Donizo (in the Vatican) contains miniature portraits of the entire family: they are reproduced in good coloured prints in Bethmann's edition in the *Mon. Germ.* We must not look in them for accurate likenesses; the costumes are very instructive. Azzo and his wife Hildegard are buried at Canossa, which was Tedald's almost constant abode.

Margrave, but Boniface escaped by flight. Boniface hated the German monarchy; he strove for permanent influence in Rome, and aspired to the patriciate, indignant that Henry had himself assumed this power. Nevertheless he had flattered the royal authority by doing homage to it in Rome, and the Emperor, in order that the Pope of his nomination might obtain the protection of the Margrave, appears actually to have appointed Boniface his representative in Roman affairs. The Dukes of Spoleto had formerly been the Missi of the Carolingians for Rome; and after his coronation Henry must have bestowed the same power on the Margrave.

In the hope of its undermining the German influence, Boniface favoured the revolution in Rome; he suffered Benedict IX. for the third time to take possession of the Papacy. Roman plenipotentiaries, however, sent by the German party, had already hastened to the Emperor, to inquire as to his wishes regarding the new election. They put forward Halynard, Archbishop of Lyons, who was popular in Rome and possessed an unusual acquaintance with the Italian tongue. Henry, however, caused Poppo, Bishop of Brixen, to be elected at Pölthe on December 25, 1047. He sent him to Boniface, commanding the latter, as his missus, to conduct the Pope-designate to Rome. The Margrave refused; Poppo was obliged to return to the Emperor, and it was only Henry's decisive threat that availed to reduce the aged Boniface to obedience. His envoys now drove Benedict IX. out of Rome, he himself conducted to the Lateran the German

Boniface places Damasus II. on the Sacred Chair.

Pope, who, as Damasus II., ascended the sacred chair on July 17, 1048.[1]

After a reign of eight months and nine days as Pope for the last time, Benedict IX., abandoned by the Margrave, returned to his fortress of Tusculum. His end is unknown. If, as was said, he withdrew to the monastery of Grotta Ferrata, and, weary of life, from a heathen transformed himself into a saint, no one acquainted with the character of the times can doubt the possibility of the conversion.[2] With Benedict ended the tyranny of the Counts of Tusculum. This family, however, which had given to Rome five popes, John XI., John XII., Benedict VIII., John XIX., Benedict IX., and perhaps even others, retained in consequence of its power a considerable influence in the city until far into the twelfth century.

The new German pontiff had scarcely shown himself to the Romans when he left the city, driven forth either by the heat of summer or by fear. Poor

[1] Account in the "Annal. Romani," *Cod. Vat.*, 1984. Concerning the embassy of the Romans, see Bonizo, p. 803. He also says, that Boniface conducted the Pope to Rome, but the *Cod. Vat.* alone is acquainted with the intrigues of the Margrave.

[2] Placentini (*De Sepulcro Bened. IX.*, Romæ, 1747) seeks to show that a grave discovered in Grotta Ferrata is the grave of this Pope. I have seen the inscription—an utterly valueless curiosity. Several antiquities in the monastery recall the period. Over the door is the ancient motto :

Οἴκου Θεοῦ μέλλοντες εἰσβαίνειν πύλην
ἔξω γένοισθε τῆς μέθης τῶν φροντίδων
ἵν' εὐμενῶς εὕροιτε τὸν κριτὴν ἔσω.

The Greek language still survived here. In 1153 the abbot signed a Roman document † ἐγω νηκολαως ἡγουμενος Κρηπτα Φερρατ. ἠπεγραφψα. Galletti, *Del. prim.*, App. n. 59.

Damasus felt himself happier as bishop of a little place in Tyrol than it was possible to be as Pope in Rome. He went to Palestrina, the ancient Prænestе, a city which, as fief of the Church, still remained in the possession of the descendants of Benedict and the Senatrix Stephania. The Margrave John had died, but his sister Emilia now owned the fief.[1] The disputes with the Roman Curia had been adjusted, the Crescentii, the possessors of Palestrina, were consequently enemies of the Tusculans, and Damasus II. could therefore live at Palestrina in peace. He was, however, snatched away by a sudden death, on August 9, 1048, only twenty-three days after his ordination.[2] Had he fallen a victim to malaria?[3] Or had the terrible Benedict IX. mixed him a draught of poison? The Roman envoys who arrived in Saxony, to implore a third pope at the hands of the Patricius, were

Palestrina.

Death of Damasus II., Aug. 9, 1048.

[1] Instr. A. 1053, *Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 78, in Petrini, p. 400. *Anno Leonis IX. in sede IV. m. Decbr. Ind. VII. Quoniam certum est me dom. Imilia nob. Comitissa que olim Dni Donadei conjunx fuit habitatrice in Palestrina;* she presents property to Subiaco *pro redempt. animæ meæ, et quond. Joannis qui vocabatur de Benedicto, et Donadei, et Domina Itta* (according to documents, wife of the Marquis John) *et d. Joanne filio, et—pro heredibus nostris*, &c. Petrini (p. 111) has shown the connection between the various members of the family.

[2] Leo of Ostia, ii. c. 81. The Pope was buried in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, in an early Christian sarcophagus, which may still be seen there.

[3] Damiani wrote the following quatrain on the subject of Roman fever :—

Roma vorax hominum, domat ardua colla virorum,
Roma ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum.
Romanæ febres stabili sunt jure fideles;
Quem semel invadunt, vix a vivente recedunt.

—Opuscul. xix. cap. 5.

regarded with horror by the Germans, and no one coveted the fatal tiara. After tedious deliberations Henry was finally relieved from his embarrassment by the Bishop of Toul. This distinguished man, endowed less with ambition than with pious zeal, consented to risk his life for the reform of the Church. He accepted the proferred dignity, but solely on condition that his election by clergy and people should take place in Rome, in order that he might be justified from the reproach of being an intruder.

Bruno, a son of Count Hugo of Egisheim in Alsace, nearly related to the Emperor Conrad, had acquired fame in his bishopric both by his unusual culture and by his apostolic virtues.[1] This fourth German pope became an ornament to the sacred chair; he inaugurated a new period in Rome. By reforms which gave an entirely new character to the Church and her relations to the secular power, amid great political and social revolutions in Italy, he finally raised the Papacy to universal spiritual supremacy.

4. Leo IX., Pope (1049)—His efforts for Reform—Corruption of the Church—Simony—Hildebrand—Poverty of the Pope—Macbeth in Rome—South Italy—Acquisition of Benevento by Leo IX.—His Wars with the Normans—His Defeat at Civita Vecchia—His Death (1054).

Leo IX., Pope, 1049–1054.

As the new Pope entered the city in February 1049, accompanied by a scanty retinue, barefooted

[1] Giesebrecht, ii. 453 ff.; Steindorff, ii. 55 ff.

and praying, the unwonted spectacle must have filled the Romans with surprise. An apostle seemed to have returned to depraved Rome. No armed hosts of Germans or Tuscans, no powerful nobles escorted this bishop, who knocked at the gates as a pilgrim to ask the Romans whether they would accept him as Pope in the name of Christ. He was, however, accompanied by a man of greater value than the royal power of princes—a genius, clothed in the unassuming habit of Cluny, as yet unknown to the world. This was Hildebrand, chaplain to the exiled Gregory VI. The new Pope had taken him into his service in France, and it is said that it was at Hildebrand's instigation that Bruno had assumed the dress of a pilgrim and had announced that he would not occupy the sacred chair until he had been elected in Rome in canonical form. Hildebrand, entering Rome beside the Pope-designate, silent and unobserved, was himself the genius of a new epoch, who introduced the Papacy of an entirely new system into the Eternal City.

The Romans received the foreign pilgrim with processions at the Leonine Gate. To a great concourse assembled in S. Peter's he announced that the Emperor had chosen him as Pope, but that he would return to his bishopric unless the unanimous election of the clergy and people conferred the dignity upon him.[1] Bruno was thus unanimously elected Pope. His Roman election could be merely nominal, but the principle which he publicly announced won the people to his side and secured

[1] Watterich, i. 102.

him a tranquil future in Rome. Since he had already demanded from the Emperor the consent of the Romans as the condition of the acceptance of the Papacy, and now received this consent in S. Peter's, he even seemed to condemn the imperial dictatorship as uncanonical, and to reconquer the freedom of the papal election became henceforward the constant endeavour of the Church.

Leo IX. was scarcely seated on the papal throne (February 12) when the entire Church felt the sharp northern breath of a strict reform. The annals of ecclesiastical history depict the almost feverish activity of Leo in the purification of the Church by Councils against simony and concubinage of priests, by practical measures for administration, and by the elevation of the episcopate.[1] Could a painter of morals but descend into the cloaca of these times, he would find sufficient material for depicting the crimes of the Roman clergy, and with this object in view he might draw upon the *Gomorrhianus*, a book in which Peter Damiani, a saint, describes the crimes of the priesthood with praiseworthy indignation, but with revolting artlessness.[2] All contemporaries paint the

Utter demoralisation of the Church at this period.

[1] Victor III. says of him: *A quo omnia ecclesiastica studia renovata ac restaurata, novaque lux visa est exoriri: Dial.*, iii. lib. 3.

[2] *Liber Gomorrhianus, de diversitate peccantium contra naturam*, &c., op. i., with the dedication to Leo IX. and Leo's letter of thanks. Alexander II. prohibited the book, to the great indignation of the author. The vices of the clergy were so gross, that every bishop was asked before ordination whether he was innocent of four crimes: *id est arsenochita q. e. masculo; pro ancilla Dei sacrata; pro quatuor pedes; et pro muliere viro alio conjuncta. Et dum nulli horum ipse vir conscius fuerit, evangeliis ad medium deductis jurat ipse electus Archidiacono. Ordo Roman.* viii.; Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 86.

immorality of the clergy in the darkest colours; and even in luxurious Milan vice could not have been more utterly gross than it was in Rome. The Baal of Sodom and Gomorrha was, however, scarcely more dangerous to the Church than was Simon Magus, who placed the clergy under the dominion of the temporal powers from whom they bought their dignities.

Simony.

In the age of the Patricians and Senators of all the Romans the offices of the Church, from the office of lector to that of cardinal-bishop, were sold to the highest bidders, until at length the Papacy itself was knocked down for a yearly rent. When Leo IX. held his first Council in 1049, he was alarmed by the remark that, if he determined to proceed with rigour, all the churches in Rome would be left without priests. The clergy violently opposed the decrees of the Synod, and compelled the Pope to leniency; many bishops and priests were, however, punished by deposition. Behind Leo stood Hildebrand, now his sub-deacon and Abbot of S. Paul's, henceforward during the reign of six popes the all-powerful minister or, to employ a modern expression, secretary of state.

The battle for reform, and his constant journeys between Italy and Germany, at first prevented Leo IX. from occupying himself with the political condition of the Papacy. On ascending the papal throne he found the coffers empty; whether any rents still accrued from the patrimonies or not, whether income were derived from any other source, the treasury had at all events been drained by Benedict IX. to the

last coin. So great was the financial distress that Leo could not maintain his modest court. He even contemplated selling his wardrobe, and nothing but an unexpected present of money from Benevento prevented his retinue taking flight to Germany.[1] The misery of Rome was great; the people lived without industry; the numerous poor were accustomed to receive alms from the churches or to beg from the wealthy foreign pilgrims. The chronicles inform us that in 1050 Macbeth, King of Scotland, made a pilgrimage to Rome and bestowed abundant alms. Kings laden with crimes consequently still continued to make pilgrimages to Rome, where they lightened their consciences and their money-bags. The city received all these strangers with honour and with outstretched hands; and among these tyrant pilgrims the appearance of Macbeth in Rome is not a little interesting.[2]

Macbeth in Rome as a pilgrim.

The city remained tranquil, since Leo allowed the forms of government to continue. The harmony between him and the Emperor made the Romans anxious, while his real piety inspired respect. After Benedict IX. had turned the Lateran into a brothel,

[1] Wibert, ii. c. 3. From the time of Benedict VII. (who died in 984) until that of Leo IX. we have no papal coins; this, however, is accidental, since coins must have been struck. I read in a deed of 1021 (*Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 127): *denarios bonos novos Romane monete.* There is only one denarius of Leo IX.: † HENRICUS IMP ROMANORV; on the other side † SCS PETRVS LEO P. It is still more surprising that no denarius of Gregory VII. has come down to us.

[2] Marian. Scotus ad A. 1050: *Rex Scotiæ Macbethad Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.* The name of the King is variously given: *Rex Maccabæus, Macbothus, Macbetka, Mabbetha.*

Leo IX. transformed it into a monastery or hospital. He willingly left the gloomy city, however, and only made it his abode from time to time. He travelled indefatigably in Italy, France, and Germany, holding Synods, for the great object of the moral elevation of the Church and for strengthening the power of the Roman chair. But even a man so spiritual as Leo could not remain indifferent to the temporal requirements of the Papacy. He made a pilgrimage to Garganus, and at the same time cast the eye of a statesman over Southern Italy. He was destined eventually to arouse the displeasure of the saints, by advancing, like John VIII., at the head of an army. Into such strange contradictions were even the most religious among the popes led by the blending of the spiritual and temporal powers. It were foolish, however, to inveigh either against the popes or against the possession of a State of the Church at a time when every bishopric owned such a state and when the Church required a political body in order to support its position.

Since the time of Charles the Great the Roman Curia aspired to the possession of Campania and Apulia. Claims on the old estates in these parts which the Bishops of Rome had lost during the Iconoclastic dispute were extended to rights over provinces, to which the so-called Donation of Constantine and other diplomas served as support. The popes, the emperors of the East and West, all claimed dominion in Southern Italy; but while the emperors fought for it with the sword, the popes could only creep in stealthily among the lions. At

Condition of South Italy.

the same time that the Lombards retained the sovereignty, the sea-ports continued to enjoy an almost entire freedom, while the Normans served all parties in order to betray all. At the time of Leo IX. the brilliant Waimar IV. ruled in Salerno, Pandulf IV. and V., father and son, in Capua, and Pandulf III. and his son Landulf in Benevento. The Normans, on the other hand, under William of the Iron Arm, son of Tancred de Hauteville, after heroic struggles with the Greeks, had founded their military republic in Apulia with Melfi for its capital, and had even earlier settled in Aversa under Rainulf. These two bands at first recognised the Prince of Salerno as their feudal superior. Henry III. had also conferred on the Normans a portion of the dukedom of Benevento in revenge against the town which had formerly rebelled against him. Nevertheless the popes had long aimed at Benevento. Leo IX. went thither in the year 1050; he negotiated with the citizens and could see with his own eyes the pillage committed by the Normans in the territory. The Beneventans, weary of their Lombard prince, dreaded falling under the power of the Norman bands, who would have annihilated their municipal rights. The distant Pope, on the contrary, appeared to them as the least oppressive of overlords. They banished their princes, who now threw themselves into the arms of the Normans, and on July 5, 1051, adopted the Pope as their sovereign.

The Norman bands (1043–51).

In the following year Leo was confirmed by the Emperor as Governor of the city, Henry surrendering to him the government of Benevento in exchange for the bishopric of Bamberg, a city which Henry

Benevento comes into the hands of the Pope, 1051.

II. had previously presented to the Roman Church. The popes thus adroitly acquired the famous ancient seat of the Lombard rulers, and succeeded in retaining it until our own times.[1]

Leo IX. had already sought to protect this valuable possession from the Normans in the summer of 1051; he made over the protection of Benevento to Prince Waimar and even to Drogo, the successor of William in the county of Apulia, hoping to entice him into his service. Both Drogo and Waimar, however, soon fell by the hand of assassins, and the rapacious Normans continued to besiege Benevento and to devastate the surrounding district. The bishops and towns besought the Pope to deliver them from the bloodthirsty foreigners who, from having been the mercenaries, had become the virtual despots of Southern Italy. Leo hoped for success, and it was with this view that he journeyed to the Emperor in the summer of 1052.

Leo IX.'s campaign against the Normans.

Accompanied by Godfrey of Lorraine and his brother Frederick, Chancellor of the Church, he was able to lead a body of German mercenaries and a swarm of adventurers across the Alps in February 1053. He also assembled the arrière ban of some of the Italian provinces, went to Rome in April and advanced to Campania, where several of the Lombard dynasts and Apulian counts joined him with their vassals.[2] The Italians of his army were led by the

[1] The popes never owned the entire duchy of Benevento. Not until 1077 did they obtain possession of the city and the territory adjoining it. Concerning the treaty of exchange with the Emperor, see Leo of Ostia, ii. c. 84. Herm. Contr. ad A. 1053.

[2] Herm. Contr. ad A. 1053 shows how Leo's army was composed:

sons of Count Burellus, by the two Margraves Trasmundus and Azzo; two German knights, however, the Swabians Werner and Rudolf, the future Rector of Benevento, commanded the entire, and by no means inconsiderable, force. The pious Leo thus became transformed into a general; already in his youth as a deacon he had led the vassals of the Bishop of Toul to Italy in the name of Conrad II., and was himself descended from a noble warrior race. When the question was one of defending or increasing his temporal dominion, even Leo could not repudiate the inconsistent dual nature of priest and prince which was united in the bishops of the time.

Leo had come to an understanding with the Greeks, whose Katapan was at this time Argyros, son of Melus, now in the Byzantine service, and adorned with the pompous title of a Dux of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia.[1] He had hoped to form a league between the two Emperors, the Italians, and Lombards, and thus to extirpate the

plurimi Theutonicorum, partim jussu dominorum, partim spe quæstus adducti, nonnulli etiam scelerati et protervi, diversasque ob noxias patria pulsi. Guill., Apulus, lib. ii., reckons 700 brave Swabians, and in addition, Romans, Samnites, Capuans, Spoletans, Sabines, men of Fermo, and *gens Marchana probis digne reprobata latinis.* Leo of Ostia reckons 500, Amatus only *CCC Todesque.* It appears from him (iii. c. 25) that Leo had previously led an army against the Normans, which disbanded in Campania.

[1] We still read his letter to the monastery of Farfa, in which he obtained his admission as a *confrater* by a gift of 3000 byzants. *Argiros pronia theu Magistros Bestis, Kæ Dux Italias, Calabrias, Sichelias, Kæ Paphlagonias, Kæ Cabeon, Kedulon, Ematon ti Despini Kæ agia Theotoco Maria ti en agemoni tis Farfa,* &c. (Greek was pronounced in this way). *Chron. Farf.*, p. 620.

terrible Normans. His design failed; Argyros did not even send troops to join him, but the strength of the expedition nevertheless alarmed the Normans. The presence of the Pope, under whose ban they stood, caused them dismay. Their envoys demanded peaceful investiture of those lands with which the Emperor had already invested them, and promised in return homage and tribute to the Roman Church. Bold conquerors might have advanced stronger claims to the possession of cities, which they had acquired by the sword, than the popes could put forward on the strength of diplomas, or the German emperors on the abstract title of the supremacy of the empire. But the dazzled Pope relied in the numbers of his army, and gave too much heed to the cries of the valiant Swabians, who jeered at the insignificant stature of the Normans, and boasted that they would annihilate the brigands until not a trace of them remained. The rejected Normans retreated to fight against the Holy Father in his capacity of hostile general.

Leo IX. is taken a prisoner in the battle of Civita, 1053.

The battle of Civita in the Capitanata on June 18, 1053, is perhaps the most memorable in the annals of the temporal Papacy. Even now, after more than eight hundred and fifty years, it still survives in the memories of men, and has been compared to the defeat at Castel Fidardo on September 18, 1860, when the excommunicated Piedmontese (bold robbers of S. Peter's patrimony, as were the excommunicated Normans of the time of Leo IX.), in the name of Italian unity, overthrew the weak foreign legions of Pius IX. led by Lamoricière. For the State of

the Church existed until our own days, and until our own days remained the object for the attacks of princes, and for the defence of the pope by foreign mercenaries and excommunications, and in the fortunes of the temporal power the Middle Ages have been repeated until now.

Three valiant heroes commanded the Norman forces, Count Richard of Aversa, the son of Asclittin, and the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, Count Humphrey of Apulia and Robert Guiscard. Their strength consisted merely of three thousand horse and some infantry, but these small and skilled horsemen were so many wild devils in the saddle, quick in attack and quick in retreat. While the Pope blessed his army from the battlements of Civita, he had no doubt of victory. The Germans, their shields clasped with their left hand, their swords in the right, successfully repulsed the attack of the Normans under Humphrey, who drew their bows and charged with their lances. The Italians, however, dispersed in wild confusion at Richard's first onslaught, and Guiscard now attacked the German force in the flank. The brave Swabians closed in a square, and fought and fell to the last man.[1] The victors now stormed the fortress of Civita, where the Pope and cardinals had shut themselves in terror. The suburbs were in flames; without the Normans

[1] *Facto tamen de se quasi muro in modum corone* (a square), *mortem expectantes.* . . . "Vita Leonis IX." in Borgia, *Mem. di Benev.*, ii. 318. It calls the city *Civitas*, like Romuald. The *Chronique de Robert Guiscard* gives *Civite;* Gaufried Malaterra *Civitata.* Dragonara was situated in the neighbourhood.

rushed furiously to the attack; within the citizens pillaged the papal baggage and threatened to surrender the Pope; they finally drove him and the cardinals out of the city. In his distress Leo now sent envoys to treat with the Normans. They came respectfully to invite the sacred prisoner under their protection. They had every right to carry so valuable a spoil of war to one of their fortresses; the humiliated Pope, however, stood behind the shield of S. Peter. He exchanged the part of an indifferent general for the rôle of the good shepherd, and the rude warriors knelt before their prisoner and fervently kissed the apostolic feet.[1] They chivalrously took him in their midst and promised him a free escort to Benevento.

The afflicted Pope spent two days in prayer for the dead, whom he caused to be solemnly buried. Although his biographer assures us that it comforted him to find the bodies of his warriors unharmed, while the eyes of the slain Normans had been torn out by the ravens, the sight of the battlefield nevertheless taught him that the Pope was not called on to shed the blood of the faithful for political objects, or to exchange the palm of the saint for the sword of the general. The cunning superstition of the time represented the slain of Civita clad in golden garments waving palms to Leo on his deathbed, but in reality these "martyrs," among whom there were moreover a goodly number of murderers and brigands,

[1] *Devotement o grandissime plor et larmes: Chronique de R. Viscart*, c. xi. *Cum magna devotione ejus provolvuntur pedibus, veniam et benedictionem ejus postulantes.* Malaterra, i. c. 14.

stood accusers of his apostolic conscience.[1] Or, may we believe that the popes, since they were also temporal princes, possessed two natures and two consciences?

Censures passed on the Pope in consequence of the battle.

The news of the battle flew with the speed of the wind over all lands. A holy and revered pope had, it was said, drawn the sword, not against Saracens, but against devout Christians, and had fallen into the power of the enemy. Had he defeated the Normans in this battle, all the world would have regarded him as the deliverer of Italy from the brigand hordes, but having been defeated he became the object of the severest censure. Voices were heard, which recognised the judgment of God in the fate which had befallen him, "since it befits the priest only to make war with the weapons of the Spirit, not to draw an iron sword in temporal matters; the Saviour did not command his followers to attack nations like secular princes, but to combat their sins by pious teaching."[2] If the defenders of Leo

[1] The life in Borgia describes the battlefield and the obsequies; the Vita in *Acta Sctor.*, April 2, 666, the appearance of the fallen as martyrs. A similar battlefield was seen 807 years later, on which the German and Belgian Foreign Legion sacrificed themselves for the Dominium Temporale. The men who lost their lives at Castel Fidardo are still called "martyrs" (*Civiltà Cattolica* of October 20, 1860).

[2] This was the opinion of Herm. Contractus: the Germans had fallen *occulto Dei judicio — sive quia tantum sacerdotem spiritalis potius quam pro caducis rebus carnalis pugna decebat.* In like manner Romuald and the *Chron.* of Amalfi (Murat., *Ant. It.*, i. 212): *non enim dominus discipulis suis et successorib. suis præceperat, ut seculares veluti principes secuti materiales gradus, in populum corruerent, sed verbo et dicto monerent pie*, &c. His contemporary, Bruno of Segni, also blamed the Pope: *super Normannos prœliaturus*

IX. desired to disarm these just accusations by representing the attacks made by the Normans on the State of the Church, the pious might have imposed silence in the words of S. Jerome: "The dove which sees another bird take its food out of its nest, stirs neither feather, beak or claw, nor does it complain. So the Church of God, the true dove, does not seek the restoration of that of which she has been deprived, but, like the sheep, she offers her fleece to the shears; and thus the Church should not wrest its own back from the spoiler, but should surrender it with patience. For so much as she loses in earthly goods, so much does she gain in heavenly."[1]

It is doubtful whether the great Father of the Church would have uttered this dictum had an ecclesiastical State existed in his time. A pious maxim, pushed to such an extreme, is too exalted for men of any kind, and becomes absurdly impracticable. The view of the relation of the Church to the temporal dominion current in the time of Leo IX. was, however, still far distant from the standpoint on which this memorable question is now placed. The saintly Damiani freely and sharply rebuked the action of his friend the Pope. Like Augustine before him, and like Dante after him, he drew a line between the empire and the Church,

Damian's opinion of the Dominium Temporale.

vadit, zelum quidem Dei habens, sed non fortasse scientiam, and laments that he had taken part in the war in person.

[1] *Quanto terrenis ecclesia minuitur, tanto spiritualibus augetur.* Wido Ferrar. extracts the passage from S. Jerome, and, together with other sentences from the Fathers of the Church, turns it against Gregory VII.: *Mon. Germ.*, xiv. 169.

between the pastoral staff and the sword. "If for matters of faith," he exclaims, "by which the universal Church lives, no private person should draw the sword, why should armed hosts bluster with the sword for the temporal and transitory possessions of the Church? Why should the Christian murder Christians on account of the loss of wretched property? Have we ever read that Gregory undertook or ordered any similar war,—Gregory who suffered the violent depredations of the savage Lombards? Has a holy Pope ever risen in arms? The laws of the forum or the edicts of the council may settle the disputes of the Church, but matters belonging to the judicial tribunals or to the papal sentences should not be decided to the disgrace of the Church by force of arms."[1] We perceive that Damiani had at this time no conception either of an ecclesiastical State, or of the temporal kingdom of a Pope: he was acquainted merely with earthly and transitory possessions; miserable possessions in com-

[1] Damiani (Ep. ix. lib. iv. to Ulrich of Fermo): *Si ergo pro fide . . . nusquam ferrea corripere arma conceditur: quomodo pro terrenis et transitoriis Ecclesiæ facultatibus loricatæ acies in gladiis debacchantur? —Quomodo ergo pro rerum vilium detrimento fidelis fidelem gladio petat.* I quote side by side with this the view held by Jesuits in Rome on such matters at the present day. The *Civiltà Cattolica* (October 20, 1860, "I morti per la Chiesa a Dragonara il 1053, e nel Piceno il 1860") says: "The opinion that the temporal property of the Church was only of an earthly nature was pardonable in the time of Leo IX.; to believe now-a-days that it is otherwise than identical with the cause of religion and Christ were folly. Not even perhaps in the Crusades did Christian soldiers fight for a cause in so high a sense divine, as that in which the soldiers of Lamorcière have fallen." Baronius already speaks as a champion of the *Civiltà Cattolica* when he stigmatises the saint as an arch-heretic in this matter.

parison to those eternal possessions which made the Pope what he was.

The Normans, by their victory, had acquired legal stability for their conquests. Leo released them from excommunication. His defeat laid the first foundation of the later feudal investitures, from which the popes (so marvellous was their good fortune) issued as feudal lords of the kingdom of Naples.

The Normans conduct the Pope to Benevento.

With chivalrous courtesy and practical insight the victors conducted their prisoner to Benevento, into which the Pope, ill and tortured by grief, made his entry five days after the battle. The splendid reception which he there received could no longer comfort him; he remained in the city under Norman custody the entire winter, while the conquerors urged the fulfilment of stipulations with which we are not acquainted.[1] So far from Leo IX. lay the thought of a permanent treaty, that he was considering on the contrary how to form a new alliance against the intruders. He sent the Cardinals Frederick of Lorraine and Humbert with a letter to Constantinople, in which he describes his misfortune in a veiled and garbled manner to the Greek Emperor Constantine Monomachus, and summons him to fight with the Emperor Henry on a common plan against the Normans. At the same time he supplicated

[1] According to the *Chronique de Robert Viscart*, Leo gave *Count Unfroi et à li subcessor toute Puille et Calabre de la fin de Granière iusque à lo Faro.* The count returned to Melfi, collected the Normans and Lombards, *et fist dui de ses frères consoles.* See also De Meo, *Annali di Napoli ad A.* 1054, which was still unknown to the books of Amatus. The *Annales Lamberti* say ad A. 1053: *Leo IX. cunctos dies, quibus supervixit tantæ calamitati, in luctu et mœrore egit.*

Constantine to restore her ancient possessions in Southern Italy to the Church, or rather to surrender everything that Constantine and his successors had formerly presented to her.[1] Thus Leo also appeals to a legendary donation, which had given Rome, Italy, and the West into the possession of the sacred chair.

Count Humphrey accompanied the Pope to Capua on March 12, 1054. Thence Leo returned to Rome on April 3, not in triumph as John X. had formerly returned from the Garigliano, but as a humiliated man, who no longer enjoyed a moment of happiness. He soon fell ill, and recognised the approach of death. He had himself carried from the Lateran to S. Peter's on April 13, and scarcely were the Romans aware of his removal when they rushed to sack the Lateran. Leo's merits, however, as we are told by a credulous annalist, were so great, that the blasphemers stood rooted to the ground in front of the palace. Leo IX. died on April 19, having only attained his fiftieth year. The Dominium Temporale of the Church, as in the case of so many popes, was the cause of his early death. The disaster of Civita darkens his illustrious figure—an ornament to the sacred chair; but it does not diminish the nimbus

Death of Leo IX., April 19, 1054.

[1] *Leo Ep. Serv. Servor. Dei glorioso et religioso Imp. novæ Romæ Constantino Monomacho dilecto filio salutem.* He asserts the Donation of Constantine in decisive terms. *Tu ergo magnus successor Magni Constantini sanguine, nomine, et Imperio factus, ut fias etiam imitator devotionis ejus erga Ap. sedem, exhortamur : et quæ ille mirabilis vir post Christum eidem sedi contulit, confirmavit, atque defendit : tu juxta tui nominis etymologiam constanter adjuva recuperare, retinere, et defendere.* Baron. ad A. 1054.

of sanctity, with which the grateful Church has rewarded the services of a pious reformer. Nevertheless, as in the case of all human virtues, it mingles with the nimbus much that is of the earth.[1]

1 "Historia Mortis Leonis IX.," *Acta Sctor.*, April 2, 666. The people, ready to believe in miracles, soon ran to Leo's grave. Herm. Contr. ad A. 1054. Leo IX. was handsome and of noble presence. *Cestui Lion estoit moult bel et estoit rouz, et estoit de stature seignoriable, et estoit de letre bon maistre:* Aimé iii. c. 15. His tomb in S. Peter's bore the following couplet :—

Victrix Roma dolet nono viduata Leone,
Ex multis talem vix habitura patrem.

CHAPTER III.

1. Hildebrand's Programme — The Emperor nominates Gebhard of Eichstädt to the Papacy—Godfrey of Lorraine marries Beatrix of Tuscany—Henry III. comes to Italy—Victor II., Pope—Death of the Emperor (1056)—Regency of the Empress Agnes—Victor II., Imperial Vicar in Italy—Powerful position of Godfrey—Cardinal Frederick—Death of Victor II.—Stephen IX., Pope.

The great movement of the Church at this period conceals or dominates the history of the city. Long the stage and centre of the conflict between Church and State, it was only with difficulty that the city could attain and develop her own municipal independence. She sank into the service of the Pope or the Emperor and became divided into papal and imperial factions.

After the extinction of the house of Otto the Roman nobles had made the Papacy subject to themselves, and for a time had tumultuously upheld the patriciate, the civic power of which, however, devoid as it was of lasting form, declined whenever the empire or the Papacy made any vigorous movement. Henry III., who destroyed the tyranny of the Tusculans, had with the patriciate obtained

the right of the papal election for Germany, and through his German popes had infused new life into the Church. Scarcely was the Church reinvigorated by the aid of Germany, when she demanded from her saviour the right of election and finally entire freedom. Hildebrand was now not only the greatest man in Rome, but also one of the greatest politicians of all nations and all time. As leader of the great reform movement, he soon made everyone his instrument, the saints and monks, whose fanatical zeal he inflamed, the popes to whom he gave a policy, the Patarines of Lombardy, whom, like a demagogue, he sent into the field against the aristocracy and the recalcitrant bishops, the enthusiastic Margravines of Tuscany, whose friendship he acquired, and the rapacious Normans, in whom the Roman Church gained vassals and defenders. On the banner borne by this courageous priest stood at first only two prohibitions borrowed from the Canon of discipline, namely concubinage and simony. Both pointed to actual sores of the time, but were finally dexterously converted into breaches through which the Papacy forced its way into the State, wrested the patriciate from the German crown, and acquired spiritual supremacy over the world.

Beginning of Hildebrand's activity.

The liberty of papal election, which had been restricted by the imperial power since ancient times, did not yet hold the first place in Hildebrand's programme. The fear of a powerful emperor and the insecurity in Rome, where the nobles would again have seized the election, compelled the clerical party to patient submission to the imperial right.

The idea of a breach with Germany was also distant from the minds of all.

Before his death Leo IX. probably confided the welfare of the Church to Hildebrand; all eyes were already directed to this one monk, and the zealots loudly demanded his election. He went, however, to Henry's court, in order, if possible, to procure another pope from Germany, a pope secure of the support of the reforming Emperor. The German nobles looked with surprise on the monk who appeared as one of the envoys of the Roman clergy in order to interfere in the papal election. After the ambassadors of the Roman aristocracy who adhered to Germany had also arrived at the court of the Patricius, Henry, at the urgent entreaty of Hildebrand and the Romans, raised the Bishop of Eichstädt to the Papacy.[1] Gebhard, a member of the family of the Counts of Calw, to which Henry was related, a man experienced in affairs of State, full of intelligence and energy, and still young, was his trusted counsellor. It cost the Emperor no small sacrifice to part with Gebhard; he hoped, however, that the judgment of a faithful friend would be well employed in Italy, where a rebel to the empire had just acquired a position of great authority.

Victor II., Pope, 1055–1057.

Boniface of Tuscany fell by the hand of an assassin on May 6, 1052, and two years later his widow Beatrix married Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine. Godfrey was an enemy of the empire; he had come to Italy as a fugitive, and, in defiance of the Emperor,

[1] Stenzel has already refuted Bonizo's statement, that Henry at Hildebrand's exhortation, renounced the patriciate.

had seized the vast estates of Boniface, which he ruled henceforward in the name of his three children, who were still under age. He thus became the most powerful prince in the whole of Italy. This country remained the theatre of foreign fortunes; its emperors and its dukes were foreign, its popes, many of its most respected bishops, and the Normans who now acquired their kingdom in Southern Italy by robbery, were foreigners also. If a brave and shrewd man such as Godfrey were now to ally himself with the Normans, if he were to unite all Central Italy under his sceptre, would it not then be possible to acquire the Italian and Roman crown and to make popes according to his pleasure?

Gebhard had only accepted the Papacy under condition that the Emperor should bind himself to aid the sacred chair in the recovery of all its possessions; Henry had also promised that a second election should take place in Rome. The Bishop of Eichstädt left Regensburg in March and hastened to Rome. Here as Victor II. he ascended the papal chair on April 13, 1055, after it had remained vacant for a year. The Emperor himself departed for Italy in March, but did not come to Rome.[1] With his accustomed energy he set in order the affairs of the empire in Northern Italy, where the nobility quickly obeyed him; Beatrix also appeared to defend her marriage with a former rebel against the tyrannical head of the State; the angry Emperor, however, had her and her child Matilda placed

Henry III. in Italy.

[1] Henry was at Brixen on March 22, 1055, at Verona on April 7, at Mantua at Easter. Steindorff, *Ibid.*, ii. 289; Giesebrecht, ii. 514.

under arrest. Her fugitive husband remained beyond reach of his wrath, and, again taking up arms in Lorraine, even forced the Emperor to make a hurried return. Henry met the Pope at the Synod of Florence in June and returned to Germany. He had entrusted Victor II. with the authority of a Vicar in Italy, where the Pope was charged to keep Duke Godfrey within bounds. Godfrey's brother Frederick, in order to pave a career for himself, had taken service in the Church in the time of Leo IX.; he had been made cardinal-deacon and chancellor by Leo, and had finally been sent as papal legate to Byzantium, where he acquired the reputation of diplomatic ability and great strength of character. As he now returned, laden with numerous treasures, the Emperor ordered the Pope to have him arrested. Frederick, however, received warning, and escaped the danger which awaited him by flight, took the cowl in Monte Casino, and either here or on the island of Tremiti hid himself from the anger of the distant Emperor.

Victor II. spent a year in Rome dedicated to the reform of the Church. Like his predecessors, he found himself ill at ease and longed to return to Germany.[1] He went thither in the summer of 1056, summoned by the affairs of the Church and of his native land, and was soon called to mourn by the corpse of his imperial friend, where glory, the prime

[1] The Romans embittered his life. Radulphi, *Vita S. Lietberti* (Bouquet, *Reg.*, xi. 481): *Victore qui pro causis papatus per Romanos male tractatus apud ipsum* (*Imper.*) *conquesturus venerat* (July 1056). In Jaffé.

of manhood, sovereign power, and fortune lay dead before his eyes. The great Henry III. died at the age of thirty-nine on October 5, 1056; and with him ended the series of the vigorous emperors of Frankish race who had raised Germany to the summit of universal power. The sudden death of this prince shook and changed the world, and for Germany itself was the greatest of misfortunes. While there remained beside his coffin a woman as guardian and a child as king, Germany and Italy sank into a state of utter anarchy; the aspiring Church, however, found herself freed from the imperial dictatorship. While Victor II. wept beside the bier of his friend, as Sylvester II. had wept beside the death-bed of Otto III., the monk Hildebrand could foresee his triumph over the defenceless heir of imperial power.

Death of Henry III. 1056.

The Empress Agnes, the daughter of that Duke William of Aquitaine to whom the Lombards had previously offered the crown, surrounded by greater difficulties and endowed with less ability than Theophano in former days, found herself regent for her son Henry IV., as yet scarcely six years old. Her counsellor in the first instance was the Pope, to whose care both the empire and the heir had been recommended by the dying Emperor. Victor benevolently ordered the affairs of Germany, and secured the succession of the child, but was soon obliged to return to Rome, called thither by the duties of Vicar of Italy. The Pope here ruled (by a curious accident) all the territories of the crown in the name of the Emperor, and as long as he lived, administered

The Empress Agnes regent.

Spoleto and Camerino as duke.[1] No higher authority, however, now restricted the power of Godfrey. It was necessary that Victor should hasten to gain him to his side. Indeed, even at the Diet at Cologne in December 1056, he had effected a reconciliation between him and the Empress.

Godfrey, recognised as possessor of all the fiefs of the Margrave Boniface, was able to bring his wife and his step-daughter Matilda back to Italy. His almost royal power gave him henceforward a greater influence over the affairs of the Church than any which the Dukes of Spoleto had formerly possessed. He regarded himself as Patricius of Rome, to whom belonged the right of directing the papal election or of introducing the popes; the Empress Agnes at Cologne had undoubtedly awarded him, if not the title of Patricius, at least the permanent office of Missus for Rome and the defence of the Papacy. And the same position had been already held by Duke Boniface.[2]

As Victor II. returned to Florence in the spring of 1057, he endeavoured to ally himself with this Lotharingian family. He had already confirmed

[1] Damiani, Ep. i. ad Vict., where he causes Christ to say: *sublato rege de medio, totius Romani Imperii vacantis tibi jura permisi* (Giesebrecht, ii. 597). Documents which are very faulty in point of chronology, in Muratori, *Annal. A.* 1056; Fatteschi, p. 112 ff., and Ughelli, i. 352 ff. One of Fabriano: *ab Incarn. D. N. J. Christi sunt anni Mille quinquaginta octo, et regnantes domnu Enrigo Imp. et Papa Victore Dux Marchio*, &c. From 1057 Godfrey was *Dux* and *Marchio* of Spoleto and Camerino.

[2] Gfrörer (*Gregory VII.*, i. p. 10) quite arbitrarily asserts that Godfrey had received the patriciate through Hanno at Cologne in 1056.

Frederick, brother of Godfrey, as Abbot of Monte Casino; in Florence he made the same Frederick Cardinal-priest of S. Chrysogonus in Trastevere on June 14. Hildebrand had destined the Lotharingian as the future Pope. He placed this powerful family, which was only outwardly reconciled to the German empire, and by whose help he hoped to acquire the independence of the Church, between Rome and Germany. The Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine.

The new cardinal came to Rome with great pomp, and here, as brother of the first prince of Italy, was accorded an honourable reception. He took possession of his titular church and made his dwelling on the ruinous Palatine, within the monastery of S. Maria in Pallara, occupied even at that time by Benedictines from Monte Casino.[1] Scarcely had he arrived when the news reached him of the death of Victor II. The sole support of the empire in Italy had fallen, and the house of Lorraine now found itself at once close to the summit of its greatness. After the death of the last imperial Pope, and during the regency of a weak woman, the attempt at a free papal election might be risked. The choice must naturally fall on the Lotharingian cardinal, who alone possessed the power to set the German crown at defiance.

[1] It was sometimes called *Palladio* instead of *Pallara.* It is the *Abbacia scor. martirum Sebastiani et Zosimi, quæ vulgariter Pallara solet nuncupari;* thus a privilegium of Alexander II. (*Reg. Petri Diaconi in M. Casino*, fol. xx.). This Pope gave the convent to M. Casino, receiving in exchange S. Croce in Gerusalemme, a monastery which had been ceded by Leo IX. to the Abbot of M. Casino (Leo of Ostia, ii. c. 81).

Frederick, a man of princely nature, shrewd, strong, and energetic, was immediately demanded as Pope by the Romans, although Hildebrand, whom Frederick himself put forward for the sake of appearances, had not yet arrived. Nobles, clergy, and people hurried impatiently to the Palatine on August 2; the influential candidate was conducted to S. Pietro ad Vincula, was elected in haste and proclaimed as Stephen IX. He was led in triumph to take possession of the Lateran, and was ordained in S. Peter's as early as the 3rd of August. The votes of numerous Romans were gladly united in favour of a princely candidate, who had been persecuted by the German Emperor, and in whose case they could, after a long interval, again exercise the rights of freedom of election.[1]

Stephen IX., Pope, 1057–1058.

The elevation of Stephen IX. raised the influence of the house of Lorraine to an unbounded height. The Margrave of Tuscany now annexed Spoleto and Camerino, and thus united almost the entire country from Mantua and Ferrara down to Roman territory. What more natural than the thought that the new Pope intended the imperial crown for his brother: that Godfrey had made him Pope solely with this object?

The German court received the news of Victor's death with sorrow, the tidings of the free election of Stephen with displeasure. But Stephen was too weak energetically to demand the restoration of the lost rights of the patriciate, which, however, the Roman

[1] Leo of Ostia, ii. c. 92. *Annales Lamberti ad A.* 1057: *uno animo pari voluntate in electione consenserunt Friderici.*

people had conferred not on Henry III. alone, but on his successors also. After some time Stephen sent Hildebrand as his nuncio to Germany, where the accomplished diplomatist was entrusted to excuse and explain the proceeding. The Pope had made him archdeacon, and consequently had awarded him the highest rank in the Curia. Perceiving the imminent division between the German court and the sacred chair, he hastened to collect the ablest champions around him. Hildebrand was the true political head of the reform party, and Peter Damiani, whom Stephen had brought to Rome as Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, its zealous prophet. The appearance of this monk, his aim and his influence, deserve some attention, representing as they do a great element in the spirit of the age, from which the history of the city in these days is inseparable.

2. The Hermits and Peter Damiani — Penitential Discipline—Stephen IX. collects distinguished Men around him as Cardinals.

As often as ecclesiastical discipline decayed, so often have we seen holy men arise to avert the ruin of the Church. We have beheld, for instance, characters such as Odo of Cluny, Romuald, and S. Nilo, and the series was continued into the eleventh century. Benedict IX. found his antithesis in saints, his contemporaries. While godless bishops celebrated heathen orgies, monks lay in ecstatic devotion in their cells on trackless mountains, and self-denying anchorites undertook to expiate the guilt of sinful

humanity by unmerited penances. Within these cells or caves of piety lived the unknown race of the lesser prophets, whose zeal was only witnessed by the dwellers in the mountains or by peasants. Nevertheless these thousands of hermits merely formed the lower grades of a pyramid; higher natures rose, acquired social power in wider circles of society and diverted the souls and wealth alike of mankind into the channels which nourished the Church of Rome. One and the same age gave birth to Dominicus of Sora, Bruno of Segni, Gualbert of Vallombrosa, Guido of Pomposa, and Peter Damiani, a mighty power of monasticism, not in the old sense creative or practical, but an enthusiastic and mystical force, a force which Hildebrand adroitly employed to kindle the world into ecstacy, while he himself, a man of cold and calculating foresight, framed his hierarchical system.

Peter Damiani.

The spirit of Peter Damiani appeared as the heir of that of Romuald. Like Romuald he was born in Ravenna, in the year 1007. During an unhappy childhood he was forced to herd swine until a relative came to his rescue. Devoted to grammatical studies, he rose to be a scholar and even a teacher in Ravenna, but his melancholy temperament drove him into solitude. He became a hermit at Fonte Avellana, one of Romuald's hermitages near Gubbio. In earlier times the Benedictine order, as a social republic of monks, had worked with salutary effect on barbarism; its principles had in course of time been forgotten, and after the days of Romuald the hermitages had arisen. About the middle of the

eleventh century anchorites were found scattered over the whole of Italy. They were, however, ordered in congregations, such as the congregation of Romuald in Camaldoli, and the still stricter order of Gualbert in Vallombrosa. These hermits, bound by a common principle of mystical penance to fight against the corruptions of the Church, represented an army which, although scattered, worked in unison, and which took the field not only for the reform of society, but still more for the reform of the Church and for the supremacy of Rome. The influence of the hermits on all, even on the political, conditions of the age borders on the mysterious, and can perhaps only be compared with that of the schools of the prophets of the Old Testament.

Like Romuald, Peter Damiani also built hermitages and collected scholars, whom he sent as apostles of the hermit life into the provinces, and the fame of the Prior of Fonte Avellana spread throughout the whole of Italy. He soon became one of the most active opponents of the ecclesiastical vices of the age: the unchastity of the clergy and simony. A satirist could at this time have found more material for painting a portrait of the Church than S. Jerome had found; and Peter Damiani, like Ratherius before him, has depicted the Persian luxury of the cardinals and bishops in some writings.[1] He set himself to reform

[1] His letter to the cardinal-bishops (Baron. A. 1061, n. 1.). The profligacy was equally great in Germany; even on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1065 Siegfried of Mainz and other bishops took with them the materials of almost incredible luxury. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, i. 39.

the morals of monasticism. But his reform was not of the nature of the liberal and practical rule of Benedict. Its essence was penance; and it ordained a system of chastisement which now appears both childish and repulsive.

Penitential discipline.

The pious monk may have found solace for the pain of his self-inflicted scourging in the thought that the angels in heaven looked with approval on each separate stroke. But his scourgings did not contribute to the welfare of society, as his intelligent labour might have done. The intelligence of man had again become so darkened as to believe that the nearest approach to the image of God was to be found in the performance of meaningless tortures. Damiani himself has described the figure of a penitent. We have, he tells us, in a cell a wild idiot who stammers fifty psalms and repeats them seven times daily. For fifteen years he has not left his hermitage; his hair has grown down to his ankles; his beard is terrible to behold. For three days in the week he eats nothing, for other three some bread and water. On Sundays he cooks a dish that may be accounted pastry, which to taste or even smell would alone be a severe penance. The stench of his cell is noisome, his drinking water is like dregs, and he never changes his clothes. His playfellows, day and night, are two snakes, which caressingly twine round his head when he sings his psalms.[1] Men of the present day look on the poor idiot Martin Storax with the sorrowful compassion called forth by madness. Even Damiani disapproves of this form of

[1] Petr. Dam., *De vita Eremitica*, Opusc. li. c. 5.

penance; his culture and the breath of the poetic muse which survived in him saved him from these excesses, but did not prevent his recommending scourging as an essential part of the work of sanctification. And he himself was the teacher and father of the Flagellants.

Since ancient times the penance imposed on sinners had been one of the strongest weapons in the hand of the Church. An uneducated generation did not blush to receive the punishment due to sin in the childish form of corporal chastisement; even an emperor like Henry III. frequently scourged himself, and throughout a course of centuries all classes and races, even noble women, bared their necks to the rod with which some monk or deacon fanatically or smilingly chastised them. A formal arithmetical calculation in relation to the number and value of the strokes of the lash had been introduced in the eleventh century. Every transgression demanded a fixed period of penance. But human nature was capable of committing more sins than it was possible to wipe out in the time allotted for their expiation, and the score of many offenders stood so high in the register that centuries would have been required to clear the account according to the Canon of penitence. For the relief of the rich, however, the Church permitted the term of penance to be commuted for its value in gold to be used for pious purposes, for that of the poor in corresponding scourgings, fasts, and singing of psalms. Incalculable sums in money, property, and even land, offered for the redemption of the soul (*pro redemptione animæ*), thus flowed for

centuries into the coffers of the Church, until this un-Christian liquidation of moral guilt by the clink of money gave rise to Luther's reformation. In the Middle Ages the souls of men were the bond-slaves of the priesthood and were bound to the Church (*ecclesiæ adscripta*), which founded her almost marvellous power on this relation between sin and penance.

According to the Canon, a year of penance was equal to twenty-six solidi or thirty thalers for the rich, to three solidi for the poor. A day's penance was, however, equal to twenty strokes on the hand, or to fifty psalms; a year of penance was equivalent to three thousand strokes rightly counted, if accompanied by the singing of psalms. By some exercise the sinner could thus clear off centuries of penance in a short space of time. Damiani's own dexterity was put to shame by the skill of the mail-clad Dominicus, who was able to scourge away centuries with amazing celerity. As a defence against the unclean spirits of sensuality, Dominicus always wore a coat of mail on his naked body; this coat he only laid aside to take a broom in each hand, and, singing psalms, to scourge away a century or more. Damiani was only able to despatch a century in a year, but his mail-clad rival assured him that he could wipe out the score in six days. For, since three thousand strokes were equal to a year, and as, according to his reckoning, the singing of ten psalms allowed an interval sufficient for the infliction of a thousand strokes, it followed that the psalter, which contains one hundred and fifty psalms, represented five years of penance. The performance twenty times repeated

made one hundred, so that the man who achieved twenty psalters accompanied by scourging cleared off a century of penance.[1] Damiani quoted the energy of his friend as an example, and zealously defended the discipline against Peter, another monk, who possessed the courage to condemn the horrible institution.[2]

Did we consider the terrible apparition of such martyrs to a delusion apart from the darkness of their age, we should deride them as merely caricatures. In connection with this darkness, however, they are also tragic, as are all other sacrifices which in different forms the human race is obliged to offer in every age for its moral redemption.

If Damiani had possessed no merit beyond his zeal for discipline he would never have acquired celebrity. He was, however, more than a mere ascetic. Romuald was ignorant, Damiani was learned. He maintained intercourse with all the prominent personages of the time, and influenced all classes by his writings. As Hildebrand represents the states-

[1] *Ibid.*, c. 8. Dominicus once entered Damiani's cell, frightfully disfigured, *tamquam si pila fuerit ptisanarum more contusus*, and announced triumphantly that he had just cleared off eight psalters. Damiani, however, admits that his mail-clad friend could only have mentally recited the psalter. He has left a memorial of him (tom. ii. 483). The scourging was called *disciplina*, the strokes on the hand *palmatæ*.

[2] Ep. 27, lib. vi. *Petro cerebroso monacho.* He childishly compares the human skin to a timbrel, which should be sounded, according to Psalm 150: "Praise the Lord with timbrels." *Quia tympanum est pellis arida, ille juxta Prophetam, in tympano dominum veraciter laudat, qui confectum jejunio corpus per disciplinam verberat.* See also Opuscul. xliii., *de laude flagellorum.*

manlike head of the Church, so does Damiani her sensitive heart. His intellect was weak, his monkish simplicity great, his imagination filled with mystical pictures. But for this very reason he influenced the masses of the people. A talent overflowing with devout enthusiasm such as his could not remain buried in a hermitage. Stephen IX. forced him to come to Rome. The hermit struggled against intercourse with the cardinals and nobles: for, uneducated as were the higher clergy in general at that time, they yet numbered since the days of Leo IX. some men distinguished by learning and intellect. Their intercourse with the world, as well as the great business of the Church, invested these cardinals even at this date with an almost princely importance. "When I am among these bishops," Damiani complains, "I am overwhelmed with jests and Attic salt, with urbanities and a thousand questions such as reduce us priests to the level of rhetoricians and jesters. If at this I assume a simple or shame-faced expression, they call me inhuman, a zealot, a Hyrcanian tiger, a man of stone."[1] The austere monk had sufficient ground to take offence at cardinals who, with falcons on their wrists, hunted in the Campagna, or like soldiers sat, dice-box in hand, and made bold to mock at his hermit moroseness if he forbade them the innocent game of chess.[2] Damiani obeyed the call

[1] Damiani to Alexander and Hildebrand, Baron. ad A. 1061, n. xi.

[2] *Alearum insuper furiæ, vel scachorum, quæ nimirum de toto quidem sacerdote exhibent minum. Ibid.* He himself relates that he imposed the penance of three psalters and the washing of the feet of twelve poor people on a bishop who played chess. The game of chess was known to Persians and Arabs in the tenth century.

to Ostia and Rome, and was henceforward employed in the service of the Church as nuncio, peacemaker, intercessor, apostle of celibacy, and popular preacher.

Besides Damiani there were others, more practical and stronger spirits, whom Stephen IX. called to his aid, or already found in Rome. The Burgundian Humbert, Cardinal-bishop of Silva Candida; Stephen, Cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, a monk of Cluny; Anselm of Badagio, Bishop of Lucca; Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, and finally Hildebrand, were the men who gave a more or less strong impulse to the Church. It was long since Rome had possessed so many distinguished cardinals; and this college of counsellors to the Pope went forth to meet a new and brilliant future. Secular Rome remained as it was, but spiritual Rome had been transformed beyond recognition in the briefest space of time. Remarkable men surrounded a remarkable Pope; like the Pope, these men were foreigners, sprung from the order of Cluny and the rule of S. Benedict. Was it possible for the Roman Church to fall to ruin like a temporal state, when, unfettered to the exhausted soil of Rome, she could draw fresh strength from every land with which to renew her youth?

Damiani is the first to mention it in Europe (Florence). It was forbidden by Lewis IX. about 1254. Antonius von der Linde, *Gesch. und Literatur des Schachspiels*, Berlin, 1874. Concerning Damiani: A. Vogel, *Petrus Damiani*, Jena, 1856; A. Capecelatro, *Storia di S. Pier Damiano e del suo tempo*, Firenze, 1862; Franz Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani*, Göttingen, 1875.

3. Stephen IX.—His Plans and Death—Benedict X. —Nicholas II.—Hildebrand receives aid from the Normans—The new Decree of Election—Progress of the Normans—They take the Oath of Allegiance to the Pope—Fall of Benedict X.

While Stephen IX. furthered the reform with all his might, he cherished at the same time bold schemes for temporal advancement. The German dominion was to be suppressed in Italy, an Italian kingdom to be established under Godfrey, the State of the Church was to be extended. His princely views were clearly revealed in the inscription "Felix Roma" which is borne by one of his leaden seals; and thus, after a long interval, a pope again adorned the venerable city with a title which had last been bestowed upon her by the Goth Theodoric.[1] Stephen, who had been Leo IX.'s companion in misfortune at Civita, hated the Normans; he hoped to revenge himself by means of his brother's arms, and to make good the claims which the Church advanced over Southern Italy. But he was without resources; he consequently demanded the restoration of the gifts of the Emperor Constantine, which he had brought from Byzantium and deposited in Monte Casino. He even coveted the treasures of the abbey itself. Weeping, the monks brought their silver and gold to Rome; the Pope, however, restored them their treasures. Stephen's life was consumed by excitement in the midst of his gigantic projects: he

[1] Muratori, *Ant. It.*, v. 975; leaden bull of Stephen IX.; representation of a city gate, around which is FELIX ROMA.

determined to join his brother in Florence; but before his departure he made the Romans promise, in case of his death, to hold no election until Hildebrand's return from Germany. Scarcely had the Pope reached Florence when he died on March 29, 1058.[1] Had Stephen IX., a man of lofty character, been granted a longer reign, he would have succeeded, in unison with his brother, in imparting another aspect to Italy. With him ended the series of five German popes who, since the time of Clement II., had filled S. Peter's chair.[2]

Death of Stephen IX., 1058.

His death caused an immediate reaction of the nobility both in the city and the surrounding territory. The Tusculan party seized the opportunity to recover the patriciate and the papal election. They were joined by the Crescentians and the various factions which the zeal for reform shown by the foreign popes had called forth, and all Hildebrand's embittered opponents among the married and simonist clergy rose at the same time. Gregory, son of Alberic and brother of Benedict IX., still remained head of the Tusculan family; he was joined by Count Gerard of Galeria, son of Rainer, by the sons of Count Crescentius of Monticelli near Tivoli, and by several distinguished Romans. They forced

[1] *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, says, without foundation, that the Romans sent assassins after him: *direxerunt post eum Braczutum Transtiberinum Johannem, qui in dicto itinere, ut fertur, venenum dedisse.*

[2] Amatus, iii. c. 50, reproachfully says: *Or non parlons plus de la fama et de la subcession de li pontefice de Rome, quar l'onor défailli à Rome puis que faillirent li Thodesque, quar se je voill dire la costume et lo élection lor, ou me covient mentir, et se je di la vérité, aurai-je l'yre de li Romain.*

their way into the city at night, and on April 5 raised John Mincius, Cardinal-bishop of Velletri, by force to the papal chair as Benedict X.[1] The cardinals, headed by Peter Damiani, turned in flight, powerlessly thundered their anathemas against the intruders; Rome re-echoed with the tumult of the armed attack, and the populace, rejoicing in the gold and even in the treasures plundered from S. Peter's, again did homage to a pope of the Tusculan nobility.[2]

Benedict X., Pope, 1058–1059.

Thus was the laborious work of so many councils suddenly overthrown; the captains of the Campagna once more possessed the patrician power, and Benedict X. remained as Pope in the Lateran throughout the year 1058. Godfrey of Tuscany offered no opposition, but the Empress Agnes sent Hildebrand as her plenipotentiary to Florence in April. Hildebrand came to an understanding with

[1] *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, fol. 201*b*: *comites—Gerardo Raynerri filio comes galeriæ, et Albericus comes tusculanense et filii Crescentii de monticelly.* Leo of Ostia and Bonizo mention the same counts. Lambert: *adjutus factione popularium, quos pecunia corruperat. Cod. Vat.*, 3764: *natione Romanus ex Patre Guidone. Cod. Vat.*, 1984: *de regione S. Mariæ Majoris.* It seems to me that Benedict was a Roman belonging to the city; his mother is spoken of as dwelling near S. Maria Maggiore.

[2] Account of Damiani, Ep. iv. 90 (wrongly attributed by Cajetani to Cadalus). He calls Benedict X., probably with some exaggeration, *stolidus, deses ac nullius ingenii.* Leo IX. made Mincius a cardinal in 1050. Benedict was held as a lawful pope in the thirteenth century. Theiner (*Cod. Dipl. Domin. Temp.*, i. Preface, and n. viii. and ix.) gives two of his infeudations, to which Honorius III. thus refers: *In autentico b. m. Benedicti Pape predecessoris n. perspeximus contineri;* the deed follows. He remained as Pope unchallenged for a year, and his secular *acta* were recognised. His (spurious) portrait figures among the medallions of the popes in S. Paul's.

Godfrey and Beatrix in the election of the Florentine Bishop Gerhard at a Synod in Siena on December 18. Immediate necessity compelled the clerical party to implore the confirmation of the German regency, and even the Roman nobles, belonging to the faction hostile to Tusculum, sent agents to Germany and declared themselves under all circumstances willing to remain true to the oath formerly given to Henry III.[1] The Empress now commissioned Godfrey to bring the Pope-elect to Rome; the Margrave equipped an army, but, as in the time of Henry III., it was necessary first to hold a Council at Sutri. Nicholas II. elected Pope, 1058.

Wibert, chancellor and, since the death of Victor II., imperial vicar in Italy, accompanied the duke to Sutri, where Benedict's deposition was pronounced at the end of the year, and Gerhard was recognised in all due form. The members of the Council immediately departed for Rome, and the captains here determined stoutly to defend their Pope. Meanwhile, Hildebrand succeeded in bribing some of the Romans and even some of the revolted counts, and before the army approached the city, furious strife had broken out between the hostile factions. The Trasteverines, or their chief, Leo de Benedicto Christiano, a man of Jewish descent, opened the

[1] Lambert ad A. 1059. Benzo (*ad Heinr. IV.*, lib. vii. 671) says that Hildebrand with Beatrix had taken in hand the papal election without the knowledge of the Romans: *erexit alterum idolum—legavit illum miserrimum, quod nil ageret, nisi per ejus jussionis verbum.* Great exaggerations. Some documents in the *Reg. Farf.* (n. 904, 906) bear the date of Benedict X. in 1058. In July 1059 they are dated merely *ab Incarnatione* (n. 905).

gates, upon which Godfrey's troops occupied the Leonina and the island.[1] On his own authority Hildebrand deprived the Prefect Peter of his office, and conferred it upon John Tiniosus, a nobleman of the Trastevere; the troops of the Margrave attacked the Lateran.[2] Benedict X. fled to the fort of Passarano, which was in the possession of Regetellus, son of the Prefect Crescentius, and thence after some time escaped to the Count of Galeria.[3]

Nicholas II., Pope, 1059–1061.

Gerhard of Florence, a Burgundian, was consequently installed without opposition as Nicholas II. on January 24, 1059. Hildebrand immediately hastened to Campania to conclude a provisional

[1] The edition of the "Annal. Romani" in *Mon. Germ.* wrongly gives *a comite de Benedicto Christiano*, the *Cod.* says *a Leoni*. That the writer was well informed is shown by a document of the year 1060, where Leo signs himself *de Benedicto Christiano* (*Reg. Farfa*, n. 935). The island in the Tiber is here still called *insula lycaonia*.

[2] John was still prefect on April 28, 1060; he signs himself, *Reg. Farf.*, n. 935: *Johanne dom. gr. Romanorum prefectus.*

[3] *Ad castellum Passarani apud regem qui fuit fil. Crescentii præfecti: Cod. Vat.*, 1984. Gfrörer (*Gregory VII.*, i. c. 21) therefrom invents "a viceroy appointed by the empress." The son, however, of a Prefect Crescentius was called Regetellus, abbreviated into *Rege.* in deeds. *Reg. Subl.*, fol. 71: *Reg. et Rainuciu germanis filii de domno Crescentio . . . Seniores*, who in 1038 held S. Angelo near Monticelli in lease from the convent of Subiaco. Fol. 73 A. 1036 also calls the sons of the Prefect Crescentius *Regetellu* and *Raino*. We see how easily history can be falsified. Gfrörer makes a similar mistake with the name of *Petrus de Imperatore*, or *Imperiola*, out of which he has created a civic emperor. Passarano, not far from Palestrina, like Monticelli, belonged to the monastery of S. Paul, from which the Crescentii held it in fief. A catalogue of the property held by S. Paul's, in the time of Gregory de Tusculana, says: *Castellum Passarani cum rocha sua* (*Archiv. S. Pauli de Urbe*, vol. 241, fol. 4. Copy, *Mscr. Vatican.*, 7930, pp. 203–207).

alliance with the Normans, and returned bringing three hundred Norman knights to Rome. These knights, in conjunction with the papal mercenaries, attacked the anti-pope in Galeria, but were obliged to raise the siege of the fortress, to return later with reinforcements.[1]

The sudden overthrow which their system had suffered at the hands of the civic nobility redoubled the energy of the party of reform under the conduct of Hildebrand, the now all-powerful minister in Rome. The rescue of the papal election from the influence of the Roman nobility, and, if possible, also of the German crown, was now to be accomplished. Nicholas II. consequently assembled (in April 1059) one hundred and thirteen bishops, almost all Italian, in his first Council; the candidate of the nobility, Benedict X., was here condemned, the prohibition of the marriage of priests and of simony was renewed, and lastly, a new law concerning papal election was promulgated.

Nicholas II.'s law of election.

This celebrated decree, the creation of the hand and brain of Hildebrand, elevated the college of the Roman cardinals into an ecclesiastical senate, from whose midst alone the popes were necessarily to issue in the course of time. It determined that the members of this college, according to their rank as

[1] *Cod. Vat.*, 1984. Hildebrand went forthwith to Apulia *ad Riczardum agarenorum comitem et ordinavit eum principem et pepigit cum illo fœdus. . . . Tunc dictus princeps miset tres comites suos cum nominato archidiacono rome cum* 300 *militibus agarenorum in auxilium Nykol. pont.* . . . The imperialist writer of these annals, like Benzo at times, calls the Normans (out of hatred) *Agareni.* Their first expedition may, with Jaffé, be correctly placed in February.

bishops of the city territory, as presbyters and deacons of the Roman titular churches, should undertake the actual election, to which the clergy and people had only to assent.[1]

While consequently the civic nobility still claimed to represent the Roman Senate, to these consuls or senators the Pope opposed the College of Cardinals; and after the promulgation of the decree Damiani already compared the seven cardinal-bishops to the Senate of ancient Rome.[2] A monarchical spirit laid hold of the Church, which more and more assumed the definite form of a political corporation. The decree did not as yet completely exclude the three ancient elective orders (*Clerus*, *Ordo*, *Populus*) from the right of election, but the supplementary consent henceforward remained merely a traditional form. The people were ousted from the election; its ancient democratic foundation in the community was destroyed, and the appointment of the chief bishop became the privilege of a priestly minority resident in Rome. In order finally to remove the

[1] The seven *Episcopi collaterales* of Ostia, Portus, S. Rufina or Silva Candida, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, Prænestе, served in the Lateran; seven cardinal-presbyters were assigned to each of the basilicas of S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Lorenzo. The abbots of S. Paul and S. Lorenzo were also cardinals. There were, moreover, twelve cardinal-deacons, six Palatine deacons. See the Ritual Register in Baronius ad A. 1057, n. xix., and the fragment (in some respects differing) in Mabillon, *Mus. It.*, ii. 574.

[2] *Ep. ad Card. Episcopos*, in Baron. ad A. 1061, n. L. : *ita nunc ap. sedis æditui, qui spirituales sunt universalis Eccl. Senatores, huic soli studio debent solenter insistere, ut humanum genus veri Imperatoris Christi valeant legibus subjugare.* In Ep. xx. lib. i. to Cadalus, he exalts the seven cardinal-bishops over all Patriarchs of the Church.

election from the power of civic revolutions, it was determined that it should no longer necessarily be localised in the city, but that it should be within the power of even a minority of the cardinals canonically to elect a pope at some other place. It was even declared that the pope might belong to a church outside the city.

The Council did not venture to repeal the patrician right of the German crown which the Chancellor Wibert was unwilling to curtail. The right was, however, adroitly restricted and reduced to a merely personal honour. In ambiguous words it was declared that the election should be accomplished by the cardinals "without prejudice to the reverence due and already granted to our beloved son Henry, the present king, and with God's will the future emperor, as well as to his successors who should have received in person this right from the sacred chair."[1]

After the circle of electors had gradually become narrowed in the course of time, the election of the chief bishop of Christendom lay in the hands of a few Roman elector-bishops and priests, who did not yet wear the purple, but who in time, as his peers, The College of Cardinals.

[1] *Salvo debito honore et rever. dil. filii n. Henrici qui in præs. rex habetur, et futurus imp. Deo concedente speratur, et sicut jam mediante ejus nuntio Longobardie Cancellario Wiberto concessimus, et succesoribus illius, qui ab Ap. Sede personaliter hoc jus impetraverint.* Hugonis, *Chron.*, ii. 408; *Chron. Farf.*, p. 645; Mansi, xix. 903; *Mon. Germ. Leges*, ii. 177, App.; Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, i. 248. The decree may only have been published after the Norman investiture. Concerning this decree, which is extant in two versions, a papal and an imperial, a whole literature has arisen with reference to the falsification of one or other. See P. Scheffer-Boichhorst, *Die Neuordnung der Papstwahl durch Nicolaus II.*, Strassburg, 1879.

shared the temporal rule with the pope, and with more pride than the ancient senators, claimed the rank of princes by birth. Among the transformations suffered by the Church, the constitution of this college was perhaps the one by which its organisation was furthest removed from its evangelical origin. Although a natural principle is in favour of universal suffrage, the practical realisation of the idea, nevertheless, presupposes either primitive conditions or a universally diffused intelligence; and in the main none but the powerful or sagacious few will at any time elect or govern. A good Patricius or Emperor, such as Henry III., might choose good popes; a sagacious electoral aristocracy might do the same; in short, although the law of election of Nicholas II. could not protect the Church from bad popes, it was still of incalculable consequence for the freedom of the Papacy. It removed the most important act of Rome's civic history for ever from the hands of the Roman people and very soon also from those of the imperial power. No pope would have ventured on this step during the lifetime of Henry III.; the cardinals, however, more skilfully than the Patricians and Senators of all the Romans, utilised every interval of enervation of the German empire, and the marvellous system of the hierarchy consequently soon resembled a giant fortress surrounded by a hundred concentric walls which mutually protected one another.

The audacity of the design would have rendered Nicholas and Hildebrand more anxious had they not been already assured of the protection of allies.

At this time, when the Roman Church foresaw her battle for life and death with the German monarchy, she found herself in a position nearly akin to that which she had held towards Byzantium during the Iconoclastic dispute. In order to create a defence against the Lombards and the Exarchs, she had confirmed Pipin and Charles, upstarts and usurpers, in their kingdom, had summoned them to Italy, and had made them advocates of the sacred chair. Now, threatened both by the Roman nobles and the German patricians, her pontiffs placed their hopes on those very Normans who still stood under the ban of the Church. Hildebrand's quick eye perceived that this aspiring race would form a dynasty in Italy, and that, were it conditionally recognised, a twofold advantage might be derived: the gain of a vassal state to the Church and a powerful defence against the city of Rome and the German empire.

Robert Guiscard and the Normans.

The Normans had made rapid conquests since their victory over Leo IX.; nearly all Apulia and Calabria already obeyed them. The plan of Stephen IX. to drive them from Italy was shattered with his death, and the anarchy in the Papacy favoured the enterprises of the brave Robert Guiscard, who, beginning as a humble freebooter, had now ruled as Count the Norman military republic in Apulia since 1056—the successor of his brother Humphrey, whose sons he had faithlessly set aside. The impotence of the Emperor in Byzantium, the weakness of Germany under the regency, the needs of the Papacy, and the needs of the Normans themselves united to found a kingdom. In 1058 Richard of

Aversa snatched the celebrated city of Capua from Landulf V., its last Lombard prince.[1] Soon afterwards Robert Guiscard conquered the fortified town of Troja to which the Pope laid claim. Nicholas II. excommunicated the Norman as a robber of the Church. The popes, who were rarely in a position to defend their possessions by means of troops, from the ninth century onwards successfully employed the weapons of the inexhaustible armoury of the Lateran, fulminated their excommunications, and boldly turned these spiritual punishments, which should only have been employed in the case of moral guilt, into weapons for their earthly policy. If an excommunication did not always stand like a cherub with the flaming sword in front of the threatened patrimony, still it confounded the assailant, its mystical effect on the mind of the age being at least as alarming as that of an eclipse.[2] An ambitious warrior probably feared less for the salvation of his soul than for the safety of his conquered and reluctant provinces, in which the Pope might easily stir up

[1] Richard only obtained complete dominion over the city on May 21, 1062 (de Meo, *Annali di Napoli*). Victor III. saw the sons of the last Lombard prince of Capua wandering through the country as beggars. Giannone, lib. ix. at the end. The ancient castaldy of Capua had been wrested from Salerno by Landulf (who died 842); his son Lando had built new Capua at the *Pons Casilinus* about 856. Capua had become a principality under Pandulf the Iron-head.

[2] Giannone (lib. x. 190) expresses surprise at the great effect produced by the excommunications in his time; the historian of the city of Rome has seen them used for the same purposes in his own days. Bull of excommunication of Pius IX., *contra invasores et usurpatores aliquot provinciarum pontificiæ ditionis. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum d.* 26 *Martii A.* 1860.

strife if he declared him outlawed in the name of God. Robert's conquests were, moreover, sufficiently extensive to form a kingdom, to which, according to the belief of the age, the papal recognition would lend a complete and divine authority. The two parties, each desirous of the other's help, drew together. The victors of Civita, Richard of Aversa and Robert Guiscard, both brave, faithless and unscrupulous, blood-stained condottieri, mighty robbers, uninjured by the many denunciations of the Church, invincible heroes, appeared before Nicholas at Melfi, where the Pope held a Council in the summer of 1059. They here received their conquests, with the exception of Benevento, as fiefs of the Holy See. The rights of the despoiled rulers were as little regarded as the so-called supremacy of the German empire. Men beheld one legitimate authority disappear, another, which owed its origin to a theft, arise. Legitimacy has at all times been obliged to serve, and yield to, self-interest, and the State of the Church itself was only founded when the house of Pipin set aside the rights of the Merovingians, and the popes the rights of the Byzantines. We may, however, marvel at the confidence of a pope, who invested strangers with foreign provinces as though these provinces were his own property, who even ratified these strangers in possession of territories as yet unconquered.[1] Richard was recognised as Prince

The Normans become the vassals of the Pope.

[1] The popes derived their rights from the donations of the emperors from Constantine down to Henry II., and Muratori is of opinion that it was just at this time that the additions concerning Benevento, Calabria, and Sicily were introduced into the diplomas of Lewis, Otto, and Henry.

of Capua, Guiscard as Count and Duke was invested with Apulia and Calabria, and Sicily was even promised him, as soon as he should have wrested the island from the Arabs and Greeks. The Normans took the oath of vassalage to the Pope under the promise of a yearly tribute; they swore to aid the Church in the maintenance of her possessions, and to render assistance to the popes whom the better of the cardinals should have canonically elected to the Papacy.[1] Thus was the decree of election of Nicholas II. placed under the armed protection of the Normans, and first recognised by these new princes.

In virtue of the treaty of Melfi, Nicholas and Hildebrand brought a Norman army back with them to Rome. The Counts of Tusculum, of Prænestе and of the Sabina were immediately reduced to obedience, and the anti-pope was for the second time besieged in Galeria.[2] This fortress, which was situated fifteen miles distant from Rome on the Via Clodia and the river Arrone, in the diocese of Silva Candida, was the old Domus Culta of Pope Zacharias, and, since the eleventh century, stood under counts, by whom

[1] Deusdedit, Albinus, and Cencius give Robert's oath, without any date. A second and longer oath, given by Albinus, begins: *Ego Robertus Dei gr. et sci Petri Dux Apulie et Calabrie et utroque subveniente futurus Sicilie ab hac hora et deinceps ero fidelis S. R. Eccl. et Tibi Domino meo Nicol. Ppe.*, &c., &c. The formula *fidelis ero S. R. E. et Dno. meo N. N. Ppe. suisque successoribus qui meliorum cardinalium electione intraverint*, was customary at that time. Every vassal and every rector of a patrimony swore in these words. Albinus, *Vatican.*, fol. 136*a*, and Cencius, *Riccardian.*, fol. cxx.: *Juramentum Rectoris patrimonii.*

[2] Bonizo, p. 806.

it had been annexed as a hereditary possession.[1] Count Gerard, who there sheltered Benedict X., was one of the most powerful of the petty tyrants of Roman Tuscany, was the leader of the party opposed to Hildebrand, and had been excommunicated by several popes in succession and lastly by Nicholas, with the most terrible maledictions. He manfully defended himself in his fortress, and only after repeated assaults was obliged to surrender to the anti-pope. Benedict X. held parley from the walls. Thirty Roman nobles swore that his personal safety should be respected. He came to the city and made his abode in his mother's dwelling near S. Maria Maggiore. A Council, at which Hildebrand employed his power of intrigue to complete his overthrow, again deposed him, degraded him from the ranks of the priesthood, and sentenced him to life-long confinement in the monastery of S. Agnes near Rome.[2]

Fall of Benedict X., 1059.

[1] Count Gerard died before 1038. His son was, I believe, *Comes* of the Maritima, as the stretch of coast along Roman Tuscany was called at that time. *Ego Girardus incl. Comes fil. b. m. Gyrardi incliti comitis, habitator in Territ. Maritimano. Reg. Farf.*, n. 995, A. 1068. He presents the church, fortress, and half of the harbour of S. Severa to Farfa. Gregory VII. invested the monastery of S. Paul with Galeria in 1074; the counts, nevertheless, seem to have remained in the possession of the place. In the thirteenth century the Orsini were lords of Galeria. Tomassetti (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, v. 77 f.).

[2] *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, the barbarous author of which is better informed than Leo of Ostia or Bonizo. The subjugation of Benedict X. may therefore be assigned to the autumn of 1059. The Catalogues of the popes give him a reign of nine months and twenty or twenty-two days, and fix the date of his fall in January 1059, when Nicholas expelled him from Rome. Jaffé, and also Giesebrecht, transfer his removal, I think erroneously, to April.

4. Indignation in Rome against the Decree of Election — Death of Nicholas, 1061 — The Romans and the Lombards summon King Henry to elect a Pope—Milan — The Pataria — The Cottas and Ariald—The Followers of Hildebrand elect Anselm of Lucca as Pope— The German Court elevates Cadalus of Parma.

The schism was overcome, the resistance of the nobles vanquished. The Norman sword henceforward menaced the neighbourhood of Rome, and scarcely did the Roman nobility recognise the fact, when they became the determined supporters of the German court, irritated alike by the decree of election, and the usurped investiture of the Normans. The rights of the German crown, the rights of the city of Rome, seemed equally infringed. The interests of both met in a common struggle against the new Papacy, and Rome henceforward, for centuries, remained divided into a papal and an imperial party. Hildebrand rallied round his standard all the supporters of reform; these were outnumbered, however, by the opposing party. The Counts of Tusculum, of Galeria, the Counts of Segni and Ceccano, the descendants of the Crescentii, formerly enemies of Tusculum, almost all the leaders in Tuscany and Latium, belonged to this party, while the city nobility were headed by the unruly Cencius, son of the Prefect Stephen, and among the clergy themselves the Cardinal of S. Clemente, Hugo Candidus, an Alsatian by birth, conducted a hostile faction. The union with Germany and the

The opposition of German sympathies in Rome.

great schism which was soon to break forth in the Church lent the Roman nobility a transient energy; many were of German origin and consequently adherents of the German empire; others, of Latin race, no less zealously fought against the Pope's dominion over the city. The popes too were the less qualified to overcome these barons, since for a long time past they had not sprung from the great families of Rome, and consequently, receiving no sure support among these families, had been obliged to employ the Normans—hated foreigners—for the subjugation of the city.[1]

When Nicholas II. died at Florence on July 27, 1061, a catastrophe was consequently unavoidable. Death of Nicholas II., July 27, 1061.

[1] A placitum of Nicholas II. for Farfa, April 28, 1060, specifies the most prominent Romans of this time as judges or *boni homines* (only a few are of the burgher class). After the pope, cardinals, and bishops, after the city prefect John and the palatine judges, they sign themselves as follows: — *Cencius de Pf.* (*Præfecto*). *Leo de Benedicto Christiano. Albertus de Otto Curso. Joh. Braciuto. Conte de Joh. Guidone. Bertramo frater ejus. Benedictus de Episcopo. Cencius Frajampane. Petrus de Beno de Maroza. Berardus de Rainerio de Curte. Joh. de Balduino. Leo de Azo. Petrus de Alberico. Octavianus fil. Alberici. Gregorius fil. Gregorii.* (These three are Tusculans.) *Bernardus de Torena. Joh. de Tusculana. Ratterius Adulterinus. Genzo de Siginulfo. Monticellus. Piro de Hermerardo. Joh. de Faida. Durantus de Johannis de Atria. Petrus de Anastasio. Joh. de Petro Vitioso. Berardus fil. Johannis de Berardo. Joh. de Stefano Rifice* (perhaps *Orefice*). *Baroncellus gener de Maiza. Petrus Obledanus. Guittimanus. Conte Tigrinus de Tuscana. Guido neptus ejus. Sarracenus de Sancto Eustatio. Ego Defranco de S. Eustatio. Bonofilius Lanista. Ego Alexius scrinarius S. R. E. complevi et absolvi* (*Reg. Farfa*, 935, printed by Galletti "Gabio," p. 154). The greater number of these nobles were of papal sympathies, although Cencius de P. and some Tusculans figure in the deed. It belongs to the year 1060, when Rome was tranquil.

All the enemies of reform banded together; the Norman invasion, by which so many fortresses of the nobility had been destroyed, must be revenged, the decree of election must be repealed, the patriciate restored. The Counts of the Campagna, the nobles of the city, Cencius and his brothers, the sons of Baruncius, Cencius and Romanus, Berizo and others, Cardinal Hugo with some bishops, held a parliament in Rome, and agreed to invest Henry, the young King, with the patriciate and the traditional rights over the papal election.[1] The conspirators against the new Papacy were therefore conservative and anti-national. They sent the symbols of the patriciate, the green chlamys, the mitre, the ring, and the diadem to the King, and, appealing at the same time to the decree of election of Nicholas II., by which no candidate could be raised to the pontificate without Henry's participation, they summoned him to give a pope to Rome.[2] Instigated by the Chancellor Wibert, several bishops of Lombardy and the ambassadors of Milan united their entreaties to those of the Romans, who urged the Empress not to allow her son to be

The Roman nobility elect the German King Patricius

[1] The *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, names these Romans, partisans of the empire; at their head stood Cencius, who also first signed the instrument given above: *Cencius Stephani præfecti cum suis germanis, nec non et Cencio et Romano germani, Baruncii filii, hac Belizzon Titonis de Caro, et Cencio Crescentii Denilla erant cum dicto Cadulo, eo quod erant fideles imperatoris.* After this period the name Cencius became as common in Rome as that of Crescentius (of which it is an abbreviation) had previously been.

[2] *Mittunt ei clamidem, mitram, anulum, et patricialem circulum per episcopos, per cardinales, atque per Senatores, et per eos qui in popolo videbantur præstantiores.* Benzo, *ad Heinr. IV.*, lib. vii. 672; *Cod. Vat.*, 1984; Bertholdi, *Annal. ad A.* 1061; Bernoldi, *Chron.*

robbed of the rights of the crown. They desired a pope from Lombard territory, the paradise of Italy as they called it, and a determined opponent of celibacy.

Reform movement of the Patarines in Milan.

The profound sensation produced by the reform was nowhere greater than at Milan. This rich commercial city surpassed all other cities in splendour, and its political importance had long obscured even that of Rome. For Rome, unlike Milan, had not as yet risen to the height of actual social conflicts, by means of which it acquired a strong burgher class and a republican constitution.[1] Even in earlier centuries the archbishops of Milan had struggled against the absolute power of the Papacy; and the right which these prelates claimed of crowning the kings of Italy already made them the rivals of the popes who crowned these kings emperors. The Milanese clergy were immensely wealthy and "numerous as the sand of the sea."[2] The decree of reform consequently aroused the greatest anger where the spiritual offices were purchased by the sons of nobles and the greater number of the priests lived with women. But the insubordination of the higher clergy fostered as its antithesis the most fervent zeal for reform among the democratic portion of the people, and these ecclesiastical contrasts became the hotter from being at the same time political and social also.

[1] The republican beginnings of Milan may date from 1056 when Henry III. died. Giulini (*Mem. di Milano*, xxiii.) says: *non comparisce mai più dopo quest' anno l'epoca reale o imperiale nelle carte milanesi.*

[2] Bonizo, p. 805.

Guido of Velate, who succeeded Heribert in the archbishopric in 1045, a creature of the empire, was in consequence hated by the reformers, and became the centre around which crowded all the supporters of the ancient system. The party of reform, on the other hand, called Pataria, found its leaders in a few of the nobility.[1] Two brothers of the noble family of Cotta, Landulf and Herlembald, became successively captains of the people, and by their side the fanatic deacon Ariald obtained distinction as preacher.[2] These men maintained the closest intercourse with Hildebrand, so that Milan as well as Rome found herself divided into two factions, one of which adhered to the Emperor, the other to the Pope, and while one upheld the abuses of the Church, the other demanded a merciless reform. The Archbishop Guido, it is true, had been forced to submit to the decrees of the Council, when Nicholas II. sent Damiani and Anselm of Badagio, the Bishop of Lucca, a Milanese by birth, as his legates to the city. The reconciliation, however, was merely temporary; the divisions between the parties again broke forth, and the death of Nicholas II. threw Milan and Rome into equal confusion.

Landulf and Herlembald Cotta.

[1] *Eisque paupertatem improperantes Paterinos i. e. pannosos vocabant.* Bonizo, p. 805: in other words, "rabble," like the *Gueux* of the Low Countries.

[2] Puricelli, *de SS. Martyr. Arialdo et Herlembaldo*, concerning the Cotta family (p. 168). They appear for the first time in Milan, whither, according to tradition, they came from Rome with S. Ambrose. It was the custom, on the coronation of the kings of Italy, that two Cottas of the *Porta nuova induti cottis albis debent imperatorem ponere super cathedram marmoream, quæ est post altare S. Ambrosii.*

The imperialists in Lombardy, therefore, united with the Romans in the endeavour to elect a pope of the faction opposed to Hildebrand. The Roman reformers on their side sent the Cardinal Stephen to the German court. When this legate, after being refused admittance, returned baffled to Rome, Hildebrand took courage to sever himself completely from the German court. He assembled the cardinals on October 1, 1061, and in conformity with the new decree of election, caused the Bishop of Lucca to be elected Pope. This zealous prelate, it is true, had been one of the founders of the Pataria, but had nevertheless stood in friendly relations to the German court, and through his means Hildebrand might consequently hope to obtain a favourable compromise. In case the King's ratification were obtained the election of Anselm would not directly violate the decree of Nicholas II. The ratification, however, was not asked for, and Hildebrand thus openly challenged the regal power. A tedious schism and disastrous civil wars were necessarily the results of this audacious step.

Alexander II., Pope, 1061–1073.

Anselm of Lucca was placed upon the papal chair as Alexander II. by means of Richard of Capua. The Abbot Desiderius had induced Richard to conduct the new Pope to Rome, where some nobles, Leo de Benedicto, Cencius Frangipane, and John Brazutus, stood by the side of Hildebrand.[1] It was, however,

[1] Benzo (vii. 672) says that Richard had received 1000 pounds, and, in ii. c. 3, he gives the names of the Romans of Hildebrand's party: *cum Leone procedenti de judaica congregatione, simulque cum Cencio Fraiapane atque Brachiuto Johanne* (*Braciuto, Braczutus*, a Traste-

only after a violent struggle with the imperialists and by a circuitous route that Anselm was conveyed by night to the Lateran.

While Richard, like a true Norman, dwelt in Rome, and caused the head of many a hostile count or consul to fall, the news of the election of a pope in Germany reached the city. The German and some Lombard bishops had assembled at Basle under the presidency of Wibert; and there the Roman envoys, at whose head stood Gerard of Galeria and Cencius, formally crowned Henry, the ten-year old King, as Patricius. The Council, however, had annulled as illegal the decree of Nicholas II., as also the election of Alexander II., and in conjunction with the Roman delegates had raised the Veronese Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, to the Papacy.[1] The elevation of this prelate was a blunder. The plans of Hildebrand might easily have been frustrated by a man of genius, power, and moral strength. The task, however, was beyond the power of the weak Cadalus.

Cadalus anti-pope as Honorius II. Oct. 28.

Two popes now stood opposed to one another; one

verine: *Reg. Farf.*, n. 935, and *Cod. Vat.*, 1984). Here the Frajapani family appears for the first time. According to documents, it begins with *Leo qui vocatur Fra'apane* in 1014; deed in Muratori, *Ant. It.*, iv. 797.

[1] Bernoldi, *Chron. ad A.* 1061: *Chadelo Parmensis Ep.* 7, *Kal. Nov. Papa eligitur et Honorius appellatur. Sed vicesima septima die ante ejus promotionem Lucensis Ep. . . . ordinatus.* The *Discept. Syn.* (Dam., Op. iii. 28) mentions the Abbot of S. Andreas *Clivi Scauri* as being also present at the ordination of Honorius. Paul Bernried (*Vita Gregor. VII.*, c. 46) mentions Cencius, Nicholas, and Bertram as envoys of the Romans. Concerning the conditions then existing in Parma, see Ireneo Affò, *Storia di Parma* (Parma, 1792), ii. 76.

in Rome, the other on the further side of the Alps, occupied in making preparations to descend in arms to drive his rival from the Lateran. Seldom has the world awaited a like struggle with such expectancy. The parties which stood behind the two popes were no longer factions, but the two world powers themselves—the Roman Church and the German Empire.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Alexander II.—Cadalus goes to Italy—Benzo comes to Rome as Envoy of the Regent—Parliament in the Circus and on the Capitol—Cadalus conquers the Leonine City; goes to Tusculum—Godfrey of Tuscany dictates a Truce—Revolution in Germany—Alexander II. recognised as Pope (1062)—He enters Rome.

Before Cadalus advanced against Rome, Hildebrand was untiringly active in gaining adherents and in holding negotiations with Godfrey of Tuscany, with the nobility in Lombardy and with the Normans. Alexander II., weak and dependent, sheltered himself with confidence behind his archdeacon, whom he immediately raised to the office of chancellor. By his side stood Damiani, whose inspired pen he employed in writing pamphlets in the cause of Rome. Cadalus paid no heed to the fiery philippics, in which the hermit implored him to retire from his usurpation, and in which he announced (though he proved himself a false prophet) his death in the space of a year. The Bishop of Parma, previously chancellor of Henry III., a courtier of some intelligence, found no reason for regarding himself as a usurper, but sufficient grounds for bestowing the title on his opponent. His personal qualities were too insignifi-

cant to inspire dread in the followers of Hildebrand; but his wealth was princely, and he hoped to open S. Peter's with a golden key, as easily as he had opened the gates of venal Rome. He equipped troops and descended on Italy in the spring of 1062. The imperial party here escorted him with honour from city to city, while Beatrix of Tuscany placed obstacles in his way in vain. He made a halt in Parma, in order to strengthen his army with the vassals of his bishopric, to unite his forces with the rebellious Romans, and then to advance against the city.

Cadalus comes to Italy, 1062.

Benzo, Bishop of Alba in Piedmont, had accompanied him as envoy of the Empress to the Romans. Benzo, the rabid enemy of Hildebrand and his popes, took the field against them with the not entirely unsuccessful weapons of satire. He scorned neither calumnies nor falsehoods, and the audacity of his personal attacks, as also his wit and talent, might have made an impression on the Italians if, in addition, in return for their aid to Cadalus, he had promised them heaps of gold.[1] He began by forming a party for Cadalus in Tuscany, and then tried to induce the Romans to depose a pope who owed his elevation to unlawful means. The adherents of the German court received the lively ambassador at the gate of S. Pancrazio and accompanied him with rejoicings to

Benzo as German envoy in Rome.

[1] Benzo, a flatterer of the German court, is a vulgar swaggerer; his Latin, however, a medley of prose and verse, is so amusing, and frequently so inventive in its phraseology, as to remind us of Rabelais. May not some of the songs of the *Carmina Burana* be due to him? Benzonis *Epis. Albensis ad Heinr. Imp.*, libri vii.; *Mon. Germ.*, xiii. Lindner (*Forschungen zur deutsch. Gesch.*, vi.) takes him to be a South Italian.

the Capitol, where he was assigned a dwelling in the Palace of Octavian.[1] The boastful bishop here looked upon himself in the light of a legate of an ancient emperor, the rude consuls and officials of the palace, in their tall white mitres, appeared as the *patres conscripti* in his eyes, and, as an orator amid the ruins of the Capitol, he may have compared himself to Cicero at least.[2] The nobility assembled in parliament within the remains of some circus or hippodrome. The Circus Maximus (which again meets us in documents) had suffered from the consequences of five hundred years' neglect since the time when a Gothic king had last celebrated the chariot races within its walls. Both its obelisks lay prostrate on the ground, its triumphal arches had fallen to decay, grass and weeds filled its arena, as they fill it at the present day. Its rows of steps, however, must have still provided seats for a vast throng. The ancient theatre, dedicated to the most sumptuous amusements of Rome, was animated with a new life in the year 1062, as the crowd of a barbarous generation now entered it in arms, to fight no less fanatically for their popes than the factions of the Greens and Blues had once fought on the same spot for their charioteers.[3] A parlia-

Parliament in the Circus.

[1] *Ad palacium Octaviani* (Benzo, ii. c. 1). Stenzel and Watterich (i. 271) erroneously place the palace on the Palatine instead of in the neighbourhood of *S. Maria in Ara Cœli*, the seat of the legend of the Sibyl.

[2] Counts and dukes also wore lofty mitres at this period. Tedaldus Marchio wears a round, the Countess Matilda a conical, mitre in the miniatures of the Codex of Donizo.

[3] *Ab quoddam hypodromium, quia ibi regiæ mandatelæ videbatur esse*

ment on a profane site appears significant for the Rome of this age; it shows that, since the formation of a clerical senate and the monarchical ideas of the Papacy had aroused a greater resistance, the civic element had come more prominently to the front. Benzo dexterously imparted the character of a Roman popular assembly to the meeting; Pope Alexander found himself compelled to attend in person, and his presence was in itself a victory for the secular party. As he rode to the race-course, surrounded by cardinals and armed retainers, he was greeted with tumult, and Benzo had the satisfaction of addressing him in a violent speech. He denounced him as a perjured traitor to the German court, to which he owed the bishopric of Lucca; an intruder who had attacked Rome with Norman arms; finally, in the name of the King, he commanded him to vacate the chair of Peter, and to seek for pardon at Henry's feet. Stormy acclamations followed his speech; the reply of Alexander, who explained that he had accepted the election out of fidelity to the King and would send an embassy to Henry, was received with a wild outcry. The Pope accordingly rode away with his faction, and Benzo was led back to the Palace of Octavian by his adherents.

On the following day he again summoned the imperialists; he has left us a pompous parliamentary picture of this "meeting of the Senate," and has

competens auditorium. I have nothing to object, if, instead of the Circus Maximus, we here suppose the Flaminius to be meant. It lay under the Capitol. At the same time, their ancient theatre also served the Milanese for the meetings of Parliament. Giulini, ii. xxi. 314.

recorded some speeches of the assembled fathers, who were ranged according to their rank; first, Nicholas, Magister of the Sacred Palace, a rich and illustrious Roman, a scion, as he at least believed, of the ancient Trebatii; next the president of the judges, Saxo de Helpiza, John, son of Berardus, Petrus de Via, Bulgamin and his brother, Berardus de Ciza, Gennarius, Cencius Francolini, Bonifilius, and other nobles of senatorial rank.[1] The Magister Nicholas explained the means by which Hildebrand had raised Anselm to the pontificate.[2] An embassy "from the Capitol" then invited Cadalus quickly to take possession of the Papacy, and Benzo, who awaited him, strove to keep the Romans, whom he found more fickle than "Proteus," faithful to his standard.

Cadalus, or Honorius II., accompanied by his compatriot, the Chancellor Wibert, who, as head of the imperialists, had installed him as Pope, started from Parma and advanced by Bologna to Sutri, which he entered on March 25. He was greeted by Benzo, by many of the Roman nobles, and by the

[1] Benzo, lib. ii. c. 3: *Nicolaus magister s. Palatii, oriundus de gen. antiqui Trebatii.* Although it is possible that Trebatius may only have been introduced for the sake of the rhyme, the mania of the Romans for tracing their descent from ancient families is true to fact. We encounter some of these names, Saxo, Bulgaminus, Berardus, Bonfilius, in documents, and these vouch for the accuracy of Benzo's statement.

[2] Where have we heard that the papal election was in the hands of mendicant friars? *Eorum panniculi erant sine utraque manica, in dextro latere pendebat cucurbita, in sinistro mantica, barbata vero genitalia nesciebant sarabara* (breeches): *et hodie coram elevato simulacro resonantibus tubis perstrepunt taratantara*, ii. 4.

Counts of Galeria.[1] They marched to Rome and encamped by Monte Mario. After a fruitless negotiation with Leo de Benedicto, Alexander's plenipotentiary, Hildebrand's adherents made an attack; the fight was fierce and bloody, but Cadalus entered the Leonina as victor on April 14. Hundreds of the slain covered the Neronian Field; many Romans met their death in the river; the city resounded with lamentations, while the conquerors exulted in the thought that, since the days of Evander, Rome had not witnessed a like defeat. Even Damiani, who a short time afterwards wrote an indignant letter to Cadalus, recalled the memory of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey; he called to mind the clemency of Totila, who spared the citizens after the capture of Rome, and the memory of a Gothic king was thus reverenced even in days when the sole record of his deeds survived in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

Cadalus conquers the Leonina.

Cadalus was, however, unable to force his way into the city, either across the bridge of Hadrian, or through Trastevere; he did not venture to remain in the Leonina, but again removed his camp to the Neronian Field. He here remained five days, when he heard of Godfrey's approach. Terrified, he broke up his camp, withdrew to the fortress of Flajanum, on the other side of the Tiber,[2] received a reinforce-

[1] The editor of Benzo in the *Mon. Germ.* in a note erroneously holds this Galeria on the Arrone for Ponte Galera, which lies between Ostia and Rome.

[2] *Transivimus Tyberim ad portum Flajani*, says Benzo. Giesebrecht (*Ann. Altahens.*, p. 217, not. 1) wrongly corrects to *portam Flaminii*. It is the ford across the Tiber at Fiano (*Flajanum*, the

ment of one thousand men under the sons of Count Burellus from Campania, joined forces with the Counts of Tusculum, and encamped near the fortress, which was commanded at the time by some of the sons or nephews of Alberic, Gregory, Octavian or Peter and Ptolemy. These nobles continued to claim legitimate rights over Rome, and in consequence invariably called themselves Consuls or Senators of the Romans.[1]

The hopes of Honorius II. were also revived by the ambassadors of the Greek emperor, who recognised him as Pope and eagerly seized on the Roman schism in order, with the help of Alexander's rival, to drive the Normans, allies of Alexander, out of Apulia. Constantine Ducas had already held negotiations with the Romans or with Benzo, through Pantaleo, Prefect of Amalfi, and had invited them to induce the German regency to undertake a common enterprise against the Normans. Constantine renewed his proposals, but in vain; for Godfrey's appearance produced a sudden change.

ancient Flavianum) 26 miles from Rome. *Chron. Farf.*, p. 618: *S. Mariæ quæ est ad pontem de Flajano in territ. Collinesi infra Castellum, quod dicitur Flajanum* (pp. 559, 574). The *Territor. Coll.* lay *suptus montem Soracten* (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 702, and fol. 1197). Concerning Fiano: Tomassetti, "Campagna Romana," with regard to this spot.

[1] Thus, in the *Reg. Petri Diaconi*, a member of the same family, Gregory, son of Alberic III., and brother of Benedict IX., calls himself in 1063 *consul. romanor.* In a document of December 26, 1066 (Gattula, *Hist. abbat. Casin.*, i. 235), his brother calls himself *Dom. Petrus excell. vir Consul et Dux atque omn. Romanor. Senator.* We cannot conclude with Curtius that he actually possessed power in the city. The title was hereditary among the Tusculans.

Had the husband of Beatrix been a man of genius he would have availed himself of the opportunity to seize the patriciate and to found an Italian kingdom. He merely resolved to play the rôle of the authoritative mediator; since, as he explained, it fell to him to conduct the popes to Rome. He advanced to the Milvian Bridge and summoned both parties to lay down their arms. He dictated terms at Tusculum, by which the two popes were required to return to their bishoprics, while he himself would go to the German court in order to have the dispute adjusted. Cadalus was satisfied to have purchased this intervention and his own retreat to Parma with large sums of money, and Alexander also obediently returned to Lucca.[1]

Godfrey of Tuscany intercedes.

The duke placed a garrison in Rome; but the party of Cadalus retained the fortress of S. Paul and the Leonine city, where Cencius, son of Stephen, found himself in possession of S. Angelo. Each of the two parties now endeavoured to obtain the support of the German court. Godfrey went thither, and thither Cardinal Damiani sent a letter of vindication. Weary of his life in Rome, the saint had resigned the bishopric of Ostia and withdrawn to Fonte Avellana; he nevertheless continued to serve the Church, which frequently employed him as legate.[2] When Godfrey entered into negotiations

[1] Fiorentini (*Memor. di Matilde*, i. 72) is silent concerning the negotiations between Godfrey and Cadalus, which are, however, revealed by Damiani's letter to the duke.

[2] According to the *Anal. Camald.*, ii. xvii. 236, Damiani was a hermit in 1060. In his *Apologetica* to Hildebrand and Alexander, he depicts the despotic character of the former jestingly but with

with the excommunicated Cadalus, Damiani had addressed him an indignant letter; and he now defended the cause of the Roman Church in a pamphlet in the form of a dialogue.[1]

Hanno of Cologne seizes the government in Germany.

Unforeseen events in Germany, with which Hildebrand's policy was not wholly unconnected, meanwhile favoured Alexander's cause. The Archbishop Hanno of Cologne in concert with Duke Godfrey had wrested the government from the hands of the Empress, had forcibly kidnapped the boyish Henry, and had himself usurped the regency. This false and avaricious prelate was born to work the misfortune of Germany and of the empire; he surrendered the rights of the crown in causing the decree of election of Nicholas II. to be recognised, and easily succeeded in arranging that a Council at Augsburg, on October 28, 1062, should set aside the election of Cadalus and declare Alexander II. the legal Pope. The victory of Hildebrand's party, made possible by Hanno, was complete; for even

truth: *blandus ille tyrannus, qui mihi Neroniana semper pietate condoluit, qui me colaphizando demulsit—hanc querulus erumpet in vocem: Ecce latibulum petit, et sub colore pœnitentiæ Romæ subterfugere quærit*, &c. The eccentric monk carved spoons, which he sent with verses as presents to the Pope:—

Dent alii fulvum trutina librante metallum;
Sed mundus vivit, quia ligno vita pependit;
Sic modicum magno lignum pretiosius auro. . . .

—iv. p. 49.

[1] *Dom. Godefredo excell. Duci et Marchioni Petrus peccator monachus;* Baronius erroneously places it in 1064. His letter of apology on Alexander's election is the *Disceptatio synodalis inter Regis advocatum et R. E. Defensorem.* He is here unfaithful to his earlier opinion concerning Henry's royal right.

Wibert, the most intelligent member and the soul of the imperial faction, was supplanted, and the office of Chancellor of Italy was transferred to Bishop Gregory of Vercelli. At the same time Duke Godfrey was appointed missus for Rome, whither he was deputed to conduct Alexander from Lucca. The followers of Hildebrand, therefore, received their Pope with great joy in January 1063; Godfrey's army united with the Normans and held Rome, as well as the Sabina and Campagna, where they besieged or destroyed the fortresses of the counts. They were not, however, in a position to drive the Roman adherents of the empire out of Johannipolis and the Leonina, and Alexander II., master only of the city itself, took up his abode in fear in the Lateran.

Alexander II. enters the Lateran, 1063.

2. Hanno is overthrown in Germany — Cadalus returns to Rome — Second Civil War concerning the Papacy — Fall of Cadalus — Final recognition of Alexander II.

The Germans had renounced Cadalus; but the Romans remained faithful to his standard, and urgently implored the Empress Agnes for the restoration of their Pope. The unfortunate pretender, who found himself betrayed by the German court, exhausted his wealth at Parma in raising troops for a fresh expedition to Rome. Many Lombard bishops lent him their support, and a reaction at the German court gave him promise of a speedy victory. The treacherous Hanno had been sup-

planted in the favour of the young King by the brilliant and ambitious Albert, Bishop of Bremen; the party of the Empress again seized the government. Albert now endeavoured to counteract Hanno in Rome; he exhorted the Romans courageously to persevere, and counselled Cadalus to take possession of the sacred chair and Benzo to bring him back to Rome.

The schism broke forth a second time; the Christian world looked with indignation on the repeated struggles of two popes for the tiara, struggles which stained Rome with blood, but which were carried on with such insignificant forces as to excite more astonishment than sympathy. Richard of Capua and Robert Guiscard, continually occupied in Southern Italy, could neither send a strong reinforcement to Rome, nor did they desire to do so. These astute princes were gainers by the continued anarchy, and were already directing covetous glances towards the Roman Campagna. Godfrey of Tuscany pursued a like policy, while on the other side the confusion of Germany and the youth of the King made a Roman expedition impossible. Cadalus could therefore only reckon on the support of his own vassals and mercenaries, with whom he united his Roman adherents.

Cadalus enters S. Peter's, 1063.

The civil war was renewed in 1063, when Cadalus appeared before Rome. He seized S. Peter's at night, and took up his abode in S. Angelo under the protection of Cencius.[1] His troops hereupon

[1] Bonizo, *ad Am.*, p. 807: *adjuvantibus Capitaneis et quibusd. pestiferis Romanis noctu civitatem Leoninam intravit et eccl. b. Petri*

sought to open a way to the Lateran. A furious struggle took place. The safety of Alexander II., "the idol of the Normans," lay in the swords of the Norman knights, whose courage was inflamed by Hildebrand; but after a hot engagement in the street they were driven back to the Cœlian. Cadalus now hoped really to gain possession of the Lateran; the combatants, however, in exhaustion rested for a month, until the Counts of the Campagna again hazarded an attack upon the papal palace. The attempt failed, although the Normans suffered losses from an ambuscade beside the *opus Praxitelis*, where the two marble colossi stood in the Baths of Constantine. The grateful anti-pope heaped costly furs and silken garments on the counts, and richly rewarded the militia, and the Romans danced with exultation round Cadalus, the golden calf. It was now arranged that the adjacent towns should alternately place a garrison in Rome[1]; Hildebrand's party gained strength through reinforcements of Normans and even Tuscans, and the bitter civil war was indefinitely prolonged. No other place in the world afforded such opportunities for a civil war as Rome, where the monuments of antiquity provided, as it were, natural, or artificially constructed, fortresses. For more than a century nobles and abbots had built towers or had transformed monuments into

Civil war between the two popes.

invadit—consilio Cencii cujusd. pestiferi Romani castrum s. Angeli intravit, ibiq. se tutatus est.

[1] *Decretum est post hec ex consulto senatus, ut per vices custodirent urbem ex contiguis civitatibus sufficiens comitatus.* Benzo, ii. c. 18. All power in Rome belonged at this time to the captains, the papal feudal nobility; a formal republic of nobles must have been instituted.

towers, and, were it possible to bestow a glance on the Rome of this period, a forest of dark fortified palaces and of towers on every bridge, as well as on many of the squares and streets, would meet our gaze.

For more than a year Rome prosecuted this terrible civil war, while the two popes, on whose behalf it was waged, sat, one in the Lateran, the other in Hadrian's fortress, singing masses, issuing decrees and bulls, and heaping anathemas on one another's head. The German Counts of the Campagna, among them Rapizo of Todi, had promised Cadalus to bear the office of captain during alternate months in Rome. Cadalus, however, trembled at the thought of being betrayed by the fickle Romans. He therefore scattered gold incessantly, and Damiani might fitly have likened him to Jupiter, and Rome to Danæ, into whose lap the god descended in a shower of gold. Cadalus, "the spoiler of the Church, the destroyer of apostolic discipline, the enemy of mankind, the root of sin, the herald of the devil, the apostle of Antichrist, the arrow from the bow of Satan, the rod of Asher, the shipwreck of all chastity, the scum of the century, the food of hell," in short, "a hateful, twisting serpent," lay in Hadrian's mausoleum and set the world in motion for his pleasure; while Alexander, or Asinander, as Benzo calls him, received the Patarines in the Lateran, continued to issue decrees against the marriage of priests, and strewed the world with "nettles and vipers." In such grotesque manner did the opponents assail one another in pamphlets.[1]

[1] Damiani to Hanno, Ep. vi. lib. iii.; and to the young King,

A fresh Norman host meanwhile laid siege to the Porta Appia and S. Paul's. Benzo, therefore, wrote letters of complaint in the name of the Romans to King Henry and to Albert, in which he reminded the princes of the glorious expeditions of the Ottos, of Conrad, and of Henry to Rome.[1] The apostles Peter and Paul, said this curious bishop, conquered Rome, the fortress of the Roman empire, from the heathen, one with the cross, the other with the sword; these saints gave it to the Greeks, the Gauls, and the Lombards, but finally and for ever to the Germans. You counsellors of the German empire, however, betray this possession, which you are unwilling to preserve to it. Instead of retaining Italy as your fathers did, you have surrendered it to the Normans, and you Germans now pray the curious prayer :—

From all that is good, Lord deliver us,
From the citadel of the empire deliver us,
From Apulia and Calabria deliver us,
From Benevento and Capua deliver us,
From Salerno and Amalfi deliver us,
From Naples and Gerentia deliver us,

Ep. iii. lib. vii. : *serpens lubricus, coluber tortuosus, stercus hominum, latrina criminum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli, naufragium castitatis*, &c. The saints knew how to use their bitter tongues as well as the harlequin-like Benzo, who says (v. 848) :—

Sed Prandelli Asinander, asinus hæreticus,
Congregavit Patarinos ex viis et sepibus,
Et replevit totam terram urticis et vepribus.

[1] Letter iii. c. 1. He says wittily : *Romani perdiderunt unum ex apostolis. Normanni enim—castrum s. Pauli, altera pars imperii, aspirant sibi subjicere—et cito perventuri in Capitolium, quod erit Suevis in alterum obprobium.*

From beautiful Sicily deliver us,
From Corsica and Sardinia deliver us.[1]

The messenger who bore the letter returned with the futile promise of an expedition to Rome. Negotiations and embassies went and came. Constantine Ducas also promised a fleet and an army. Agents of the Greeks and Lombards from Bari were brought by Pantaleo of Amalfi to S. Angelo, where they appeared as messengers of heaven to the despairing Cadalus. He immediately sent Benzo (who spoke German) to Quedlinburg, urgently to exhort the young King to make an expedition to Rome. Benzo went, and returned with assurances which he magniloquently delivered to the Romans in S. Peter's. But of what avail were the flattering protestations that the Romans were worthy of their ancestors, that Scipio and Cato, Fabius and Cicero had arisen among them, that the King would make senators of their milites, and princes of their senators?[2] Honorius II. remained hopeless. Hildebrand's party regained the upper hand in Germany. Hanno ousted Albert, and the Romans, who vainly awaited Henry's arrival, finally abjured a Pope who had become irksome to them. After having spent more

[1] *Ab omni bono libera nos Domine,*
Ab arce imperii libera nos Domine,
Ab Apulia et Calabria libera nos Domine,
A Benevento Capua libera nos Domine, &c.

Benzo would now (1862) hear in Germany itself the invocation : *a Lombardia et Venetia libera nos Domine.*

[2] *Dignum est ergo, ut de militib. Romanis faciat dom. noster rex senatores, de senatorib. exaltet ad principum honores* (iii. 24). If these are not merely phrases, they perhaps show that the Emperor continued to elect Romans to civic dignities.

than a year vainly sighing in Hadrian's tomb, Cadalus was obliged to ride forth a fugitive, robbed even at the last by his protector Cencius.[1]

Hanno won a complete victory over his opponent. He had already demanded a settlement of the schism at a German Council; he now required that Alexander II. himself should convene a Synod for form's sake in Mantua, at which Honorius II. should be cited to appear. Honorius failed to respond, and an attack which he later undertook against Mantua proving unsuccessful, he was declared deposed on May 31, 1064, and Alexander was recognised as lawful Pope.[2] Honorius lived for some years longer as bishop in Parma. The schism was at an end, Alexander entered Rome under the protection of Godfrey, and the opposing faction submitted to the rule of Hildebrand.[3]

Alexander II. recognised as Pope, 1064.

3. Growing Power of Hildebrand—Efforts for Reform—The Normans—Richard's Revolt and March to Rome—Godfrey and the Pope lead an Army against him—Fresh Treaty—The Empress Agnes takes the Veil in Rome—Fighting in Milan—Herlembald Cotta, Miles of S. Peter—Death of Ariald.

Hildebrand had attained his object, since the feeble attempts of the German regency to maintain

[1] Bonizo, *ad Am.*, p. 807; *unoque clientulo contentus, unius jumenti adjumento inter oratores Bercetum ægre pervenit.* (This in the year 1066.)

[2] Concerning the year of the Council in Mantua, see Giesebrecht in the *Annales Altahenses, und Gesch. d. deutsch. Kaiserzeit.*, iv.

[3] *Annales Altahenses*, pp. 105, 183. Cadalus was still living on April 5, 1071: Document n. 29 and 30, in Affò, *History of Parma*, ii.

the patriciate were baffled by the recognition of Alexander, and the claims of the crown over the papal election could now be more emphatically encountered. Contemporaries likened the remarkable monk to Marius, Scipio, or Cæsar, and marvelled at the mighty spirit displayed by a man of such humble origin and concealed within such an insignificant form.[1] The weak Peter Damiani, inspired by a different ideal of the Church to that of Hildebrand, regarded the latter, his "holy Satan," with reverent dislike; he said that he was more obedient to this man than to God and S. Peter; he even calls him the ruler, the god of the very Pope who owed him the tiara.[2] The Church hung on the nod of

Growing power of Hildebrand.

[1] *Homuncionem exilis staturæ, despiciabilis parentelæ.* William of Malmesbury, iii., *de gest. Anglor.*, in Baron., *ad A.* 1061, n. 31. *Residens in palatio, militiam Romanam quasi imperator regebat:* Landulf, *Hist. Med.*, iii. c. 15. The Archbishop Alphanus of Salerno celebrated him in an ode :—

Roma quid Scipionibus
Cæterisque Quiritibus
Debuit mage quam tibi?
Cuius est studiis suæ
Nacta via potentiæ.

With this we may compare Benzo's panegyric poem on Henry IV. (iv. lib. 6), which is no less full of Roman reminiscences :—

Tantus es, o Cæsar, quantus et orbis;
Cis mare vel citra tu leo fortis,
Presso namque tua calce dracone,
Victor habes palmam cum Scipione.

[2] *Ad Hildebrandum.*

Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ipse deum.

Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce:
Plus domino Papæ, quam domno pareo Papæ.

—*Carmina*, in tom. iv.

this enigmatic man, who invested her with a new life.

Meanwhile Christianity found itself plunged into a social revolution by the prohibition of marriage among the clergy. The ties of civil society were severed, in order that the ranks of the priesthood might be deprived of their human foundations, and be transformed into an army of monks in the papal service. The Pope hurled anathemas against the recalcitrant bishops and priests, who submitted by degrees. The fickle Cardinal Hugo Candidus also yielded and, from motives of self interest, returned to the bosom of the Church. Never had the like activity reigned in the Lateran. The papal palace received ambassadors from the whole of Christendom, and bishops, princes, and men of the highest reputation and rank hastened thither to attend the Council. Rome, which, in the period of the Crescentii and the Tusculans, had ceased to be the centre of Christendom, was now, by Hildebrand's energy, suddenly exalted into the capital of the world.

Prohibition of the marriage of priests.

The Roman nobility did not for the moment dare to strive for the temporal power; the Crescentii and the Tusculans were crushed; fear of the Normans and of Godfrey checked every attempt at revolt. Godfrey or his wife protected Rome to the north; the Norman vassals served as a bulwark to the south. The Normans had already rendered great services to the Church; the first free papal election had been accomplished by their agency, and apart from their swords Alexander II. could never have defended himself against Cadalus. The popes

were consequently under greater obligations to these vassals than they actually felt towards them. Perhaps the reward given to Richard of Capua did not correspond to the promises he had received, or obstacles may have been placed in the way of his progress. During the time of the schism he had already known how to turn circumstances to his advantage, and he had been emboldened by his rapid success. He suddenly broke his oath of vassalage (in 1066) and from a protector became an open enemy of the Church. It is possible that he may have been secretly summoned by the Counts of the Campagna and the Romans, who with the overthrow of Honorius II. had lost the hope of German intervention. He suddenly crossed the Liris, took Ceprano, traversed and devastated Latium, encamped in the neighbourhood of Rome, and demanded the dignity of Patricius, a dignity which had doubtless been promised him by Hildebrand's opponents.[1] Thus far had the Normans advanced only thirteen years after the battle of Civita!

Richard of Capua advances against Rome.

The conquests of Richard in Campania, where he had surprised Gæta as early as 1063, further terrified the German court, which had hitherto been warned in vain by Cadalus and Benzo. The young Henry had already departed for Italy before the tidings reached him of Richard's march against Rome, but Godfrey failing to join him as pre-arranged, the King returned to Augsburg. The Margrave of

[1] Lupus Protospata, *ad A.* 1066. Leo of Ostia, iii. c. 23: *cum—subjugata Campania, ad Romæ jam se viciniam porrexisset, ipsiusque jam urbis patriciatum omnibus modis ambiret.*

Tuscany, who regarded himself as Patricius of Rome, meanwhile hastily advanced, summoned by Hildebrand. With the Margrave was his step-daughter, the young Countess Matilda, who now perhaps entered Rome for the first time and rendered her first service to the Church.[1] The Normans retreated on Godfrey's approach; Richard threw himself on Capua, and his son Jordan encamped on the plain near Aquino, to intercept the enemy's approach. As Godfrey, accompanied by the Pope and the cardinals, now advanced with greater power against Aquino in May 1067, the defeat of the Normans seemed certain; Jordan, however, manfully defended himself for eighteen days near the city.[2] Famine and fever thinned Godfrey's army, and the Normans finally attained their desires by means of gold. The avaricious Margrave not unwillingly betrayed the hopes of the Roman Curia; he held negotiations with Jordan at the bridge of S. Angelo di Todici near Aquino, and to the great grief of the Pope set forth on his retreat. True, he had restored the Campagna to the Church, and had forced the Normans to a fresh treaty of vassalage, but Rome remained insecure against another attack on the part of her dangerous neighbours.[3]

Godfrey attacks Richard.

[1] *Et hoc primum servitium excellentissima Bonifacii filia b. Apostolor. Principi obtulit.* Bonizo, *ad Am.*, p. 809.

[2] Aquino belonged from sæc. x. to Lombard counts of the family of Landulf. In 1045 Gæta chose Adenolf, the resident count, as *Dux*. Richard was overlord of Aquino, but nevertheless the counts remained. The *Cod. Diplom. Aquinas* in M. Casino extends from 950 to 1548. The history of the city has been written by D. Pasquale Cayro (*Storia sacra e profana d'Aquino*, Naples, 1808).

[3] Bonizo, *ad Am.*, p. 809; Amatus, iii. c. 10; Leo of Ostia, iii.

The storm had died away, and Hildebrand could again pursue his plans undisturbed. The same year (1067) he had the satisfaction of seeing the Empress herself arrive in Rome in the humble guise of a penitent. The conscience of Henry's mother, a woman who had been the cause of a schism that had divided Christendom, had been troubled by the exhortations of a monk of Cluny. The strife of factions for the regency, and the loss of her influence over her dissolute son, made her weary of life. The deposed Empress came to Rome disguised in a linen garment, a prayer book in her hands, and riding a miserable palfrey. She wished to exchange the diadem for the veil; she threw herself weeping at the grave of the apostle and confessed to the monk Damiani, who proclaimed in triumph that the Queen of Sheba had gone to Jerusalem to be instructed by Solomon, but that the Empress Agnes had come to Rome to learn the simplicity of the fisherman. The pious cardinal addressed the illustrious lady in exhortations conceived in the spirit of S. Jerome; he wrote her several letters, which may still be read; he quoted the tragic figures of the Roman emperors, whose fleeting rule or terrible fates illustrate the instability of all earthly greatness, and he pointed out the case of her own husband, who had sunk into the grave in the prime of manhood.[1] But the

The Empress Agnes comes to Rome, 1067.

c. 25. The "Chronicle of Amalfi" (Murat., *Antiq. It.*, i. 213) even says: *Riccardus fugavit Gotfridum.* The *Annales Beneventani: A.* 1066 *Dux Cottefrydus venit in Campania.* The *Annal. Cavenses*, however, rightly give the year 1067: *Gotfridus dux cum valido exercitu in Campaniam venit usque Aquinum.*

[1] Damiani's first letter to her: Opuscul. 56, Tom. iii. 854. Agnes

presence of the Empress in Rome was more than a subject of triumph and pious edification for enthusiasts; the former regent could also serve Hildebrand as a political instrument by means of which he could work on Henry and on Germany.

The struggle for reform was again burning fiercely in Milan. Two brave men there supported the cause of Rome; but if the deacon Ariald was zealous solely for the accomplishment of reform, Landulf's brother cherished in addition political aims. The vigorous Herlembald Cotta, one of the foremost characters of the age, was filled with bitter hatred of the luxurious priests, who had violated his marriage bed. Returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he wished to take the cowl, but was persuaded by Ariald's means to take up arms like Judas Maccabeus in the service of the Church.[1] Herlembald consequently succeeded to the position of his dead brother Landulf; after the fall of Lanzo de Curte at the hands of the Nobili he was chosen as Captain by the people of Milan, who seem already to have acquired a democratic constitution. He made himself Signor of the city and, amid heroic struggles against the Archbishop Guido, the great nobles and the clergy, energetically governed it for some years.

Ariald and Herlembald Cotta rise to power in Milan.

Befriended by Alexander II., who was also a

did not go to Rome until 1067. See note 31 to Siegb. Chron. A. 1062, in *Mon. Germ.*, viii. 361. She returned for a short time to Germany in 1072.

[1] Landulf (Senior iii. c. 14) describes his figure: *Herlembaldus—ex magna prosapia capitaneorum oriundus, miles ut natura dabat strenuissimus, barbam ut usus antiquus exigebat, quasi purpuream gerens, tenui vultu, oculis aquilinus, pectore leonino, anima admirabili.*

Milanese, Herlembald and Ariald went to and fro between Rome and Milan to concert their common plans. The Pope supported the tyranny of the ambitious captain, whom a monkish piety did not prevent from appearing like a powerful duke in sumptuous apparel. Could Herlembald, favoured with the fortune that attended the Normans, have succeeded in making himself ruler of North Italy, the Pope would have tolerated his usurpation, provided that, as a vassal to the Papacy, he could have reduced the Lombard clergy and nobles to submission. In 1066 Alexander II. received both men in full consistory at Rome, and giving Herlembald a white banner adorned with a red cross, pronounced him a knight of the Church.[1]

In the present day, when the ardour of powerful spirits and the plastic individuality of a mighty manhood are becoming increasingly rare, it is difficult to understand natures such as these, natures actuated by wild demoniac passions and inflamed with love and hate. They constitute, however, one of the attractive features of the Middle Ages, and in the beginning of the great struggle between the Church and the empire, many curious figures of the kind pass before us; Herlembald and Ariald, a monkish soldier and a fanatic deacon, head the procession.

[1] *Acta Sctor.* 27 *Jun.*, p. 291 : *Alex. in publico Consistorio vexillum s. Petri Herlembaldo dedit: eumque Romanæ et univ. Ecclesiæ vexilliferum fecit.* The Milanese Arnulf hereupon remarks maliciously that Peter had never borne such a deadly banner, but on the contrary had said : *qui vult post me venire, abneget se ipsum.* The *Acta. Sctor.*, p. 279, speak of an ancient picture in S. Babyla at Milan, which represents Herlembald as *miles armatus* beside S. Ambrosius.

These two men succeeded in prevailing on the Pope to excommunicate the Archbishop Guido. Their return to Milan was, however, followed by a furious struggle, in which Ariald fell a victim. The pious zealot was seized by his opponents in attempting to escape and suffered a terrible martyrdom. Herlembald, however, so completely gained the upper hand, that he banished the archbishop, and even raised a successor in his stead. Such was the condition of affairs in Milan. We have described them, since, in the absence of any such account, many events in Rome would remain unintelligible.

4. Impotence of the Pope in Rome—Dissolution of the State of the Church—City Prefecture—Cencius, Head of the Malcontents—Cinthius, Prefect of the City—Death of Godfrey of Tuscany — Death of Peter Damiani — Monte Casino — Festival of the Dedication of the Basilica rebuilt by Desiderius (1071).

The struggles for reform filled the pontificate of Alexander II. with feverish unrest, and, since the time of the Iconoclastic controversy, the Papacy had passed through no period of greater violence. The Pope was in constant activity outside Rome, more especially in Tuscany and in his bishopric of Lucca, which, for the sake of its revenues, he continued to retain after his elevation to the Papacy. Although the faction of the nobility had been reduced to silence, the condition of the excited city remained insecure, and Alexander willingly left it as often as

Decay of the State of the Church.

he could. His temporal authority was reduced to the narrowest limits; and the Papacy remained utterly powerless against the Counts of the Campagna. The popes, who, in Carolingian times, had sent their rectors, consuls, and duces as judges, generals, and officials of finance, to the most distant fortresses, even to the Pentapolis and Romagna, now scarcely possessed such authority in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome.[1] The Carolingian State of the Church was broken up; counts, formerly officials or tenants of the Church, had become hereditary lords of the cities, in which they installed their viscounts; and in such bishoprics and abbeys as enjoyed immunity the prelates themselves possessed the jurisdiction of counts and appointed their own administrators and judges.[2] As much of the State of the Church as had been preserved—Latium, the Maritima, a part of the Sabina, and Roman Tuscany—formed solely in idea the Dominion of the Church; in reality these provinces were severed into a hundred petty baronies.

In Rome itself the great families ridiculed the territorial supremacy of the Pope. The nobles or Senate administered the civic government and justice

[1] The Pope still frequently appointed judges for distant places. Damiani (*Vita s. Rudolphi*, ii. 497) thus calls Stephen, a Roman, *judex s. Palatii* in Osimo; this instance probably belongs to the period when Victor II. ruled Spoleto, Fermo, and Ancona in the name of the Emperor.

[2] Thus in Ostia, the bishop possessed the jurisdiction of count. Damiani, who wished to resign his bishopric, thanks Alexander II. for having relieved him of the county: *vos Ostiensim comitatum mihi subtraxisse et alii tradidisse*, &c. (Ep. xv. 30).

under the accustomed forms. The Pope either presided as hitherto in the civil tribunal, or was represented by his deputy. At this period the City Prefect not only exercised a large share in civil justice, but as president of the criminal tribunal possessed the right of inflicting capital punishment in Rome and within the territory belonging to the city.[1] His office was more important than ever; the nobles eagerly strove to obtain it, and the appointment of the prefect, as a rule, filled the city with tumult. The Romans, deprived of the papal election from the time of Nicholas II., held obstinately to the right of choosing the most important of their city magistrates; they elected the prefect in a parliament, but, as often as the prefect could make good his patrician power, the emperor gave him the investiture, or consented to the pope's giving it in his stead. The popes naturally endeavoured to reduce the prefecture from an imperial to a papal office; and succeeded at this time at least in frequently installing prefects without regard to the imperial investiture.

The City Prefect.

The election to this office occasioned a violent dispute in the last days of Alexander II. Even after the fall of Cadalus the Roman Cencius con-

The City Prefects Cencius and Cinthius.

[1] *Reg. Farf.*, n. 935 (April 28, 1060) shows that the court was composed as in sæc. x. Nicholas II., after having empowered the Prefect John to examine into the legal claims, therein restores to Farfa the property of which it had been robbed by the Crescentii. A deed of October 8, 1072 (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 1010) shows Hildebrand as vicegerent of the Pope *assidentib. episc. et presbyteris cardinalibus nec non præfecto, judicibus, ac Romanor. majoribus.* The trial proceeds according to Roman law; there is no longer any question of Lombard judges in Farfa.

tinued to defy the Pope. This Cencius must have belonged to the family of the Crescentii, into whose possession S. Angelo (the tower of the Crescentii) had fallen. Cencius, however, no longer retained possession of this important fortress, which had been wrested from him after the fall of Cadalus. He aimed at the civic power, but possessed neither the energy nor the ephemeral fortune of his ancestors. His father Stephen had been City Prefect and had not been deprived of the office by the party of Hildebrand. On Stephen's death his son desired to succeed to the vacant office; the reformers, however, raised to the dignity a pious man, Cencius or Cinthius, the son of that John Tiniosus who had been made Prefect by Hildebrand in 1058.[1] Contemporary accounts represent Cencius son of Stephen as a godless murderer and adulterer, a second Catiline, and do not apparently exaggerate the crimes of the leader of the faction of Cadalus. Having failed to obtain the prefecture, he closed the bridge of Hadrian on the side next the city, by building a tower on the spot; here he placed watchmen who extorted toll

[1] According to Bonizo, p. 811, Stephen was Prefect in the time of Alexander II.; his son Cencius desired to become Prefect *defuncto patre tempor. P. Alexandri.* Cencius signed himself *de Præfecto* in n. 935, *Reg. Farf.* Lambert (*Annal. A.* 1076) calls him *generis claritate et opum gloria eminens*, but erroneously makes him Prefect. Berthold not inaccurately calls him Crescentius, and Benno (*Vita Gregor.*, vii. 78) *Cencius judicum primicerius*, which may possibly be right. The rival candidate is called by Bonizo *æquivocus*, *Cencius ejusd. Joh. Præfecti filius.* Lambert and Berthold write *Quintius*, Paul Bernried *Cincius*, Damiani *Cinthius*, as I shall call him for the sake of distinction.

from all passers by.[1] When a Roman noble could thus play the footpad, like a robber knight, on the way to S. Peter's, we may judge how small was the papal power within the city. Had the popes only been able to employ the services of the city militia, they could have freed Rome from the predatory nobility. But they were not always masters of the militia. These companies of burghers frequently stood quite independent, and served the objects of their party or the nobles who represented it. There was no fixed, thorough government of the Pope; on the contrary, Rome, like Milan, found herself divided into two great camps, and severed into important family groups with their vassalage. The popes possessed no other supporters than such as they gained by persuasion and gold, or than the vassals on whom they conferred the Church lands in fief; and, since the patrimonies of S. Peter were almost consumed, the number of armed men must at the outside have been insignificant.

It is probable that Hildebrand expended all his resources in the endeavour to place the city prefecture in the hands of a friend to reform. Cinthius, the son of John, was to undertake the part of the knight of the cross which Herlembald had played in Milan. If Cencius, his opponent, is painted in the form of a devil, Cinthius was regarded as a saint by his

[1] *Nam in s. Petri ponte turrim miræ magnitudinis ædificans omnes transeuntes reddidit tributarios;* Bonizo, *ib.* Paul Bernried, c. 46: *ut in ipsa turri, quam miræ magnitudinis supra pontem s. Petri construxerat viros sicarios poneret.* We must not therefore think that the tower stood on the bridge itself.

partisans. He was on terms of closest friendship with Hildebrand and the two leaders of reform in Milan, and, like them, was inspired with a fervent zeal, which did not, however, bear the character of gloomy fanaticism, for Rome was not fertile soil for martyrs. The Romans gazed with astonishment on the Prefect of their city, who publicly delivered penitential sermons in S. Peter's. Even Damiani was surprised that an official of the republic should preach and revive the principles of the early Christians, which held that every Christian was also a priest, a maxim which scarcely accorded with the system of Hildebrand.[1] He called the curious preacher a two-fold labourer in the field of the Lord, a Moses and an Aaron; the populace, however, desired a prefect who would administer justice, not a judge who would instruct them, and Damiani was obliged to admonish his friend not to neglect the temporal well-being of the people for the sake of the salvation of their souls, since, as he said, to administer justice was nothing less than to pray.[2] There is nothing that better depicts the Rome of the time than the contrast between these two Romans: Cencius committing robbery and murder in a tower on the bridge of S.

[1] *Constat ergo quemlibet Christianum esse per gratiam Christi sacerdotem;* so Damiani still ventured to say. There are two letters from him addressed *Cinthio Urbis præfecto.* He says: *dum concinaremur ad populum, ita locutus es, non ut præfectum reipublicæ, sed potius ut sacerdotem decebat ecclesiæ.*

[2] *Multas siquid. advers. te fieri quærelas audio ab his, qui negotiorum causas habent; quia videlicet legalis judicii sanctionem a te obtinere non prævalent. Justitiam ergo facere, quid est aliud quam orare.* Ep. ii.

Angelo, Cinthius praying in S. Peter's and neglecting to administer the laws.

The closing days of Alexander II. were marked by some important events. Two celebrated men passed away before him—Godfrey of Tuscany and Peter Damiani. The Margrave died in Lorraine in 1069; his son by his first marriage, Godfrey the Hunchback, married to Matilda, the only daughter of Beatrix, inherited the province, and thus Lorraine and the Italian territory remained in possession of the family.[1] Owing to his weakness, the German king was unable to assert afresh his right of occupying the margravate; the hereditary principle, even in the female line, was silently acknowledged. The widow retained the imperial fiefs of her first husband, which she forthwith bequeathed to her daughter, and the astute Roman Church, to which a Margrave of Tuscany, Spoleto and Camerino of German sympathies must necessarily have been fatal, continued to enjoy the protection of the two illustrious women, Beatrix and Matilda.

Death of Godfrey of Tuscany, 1069.

Beatrix and Matilda.

At this time, when society was deeply stirred by religious emotion, some distinguished women pass before us in Italy. In an earlier age we observed the figures of a Theodora and a Marozia, of a Bertha and an Irmengard, who at the head of factions decided the fate of Italy and Rome. In the middle

[1] Beatrix had no children by Godfrey. Damiani wrote to her: *de mysterio mutuæ continentiæ, quam inter vos, deo teste, servatis*, &c.; Godfrey had made known to him at the apostle's grave their desire *pudicitiæ perpetuo conservandæ* (Ep. xiv. lib. 7). The private history of the two women would disclose many intrigues. According to Fiorentini Matilda's marriage did not take place before 1069 or 1070.

of the eleventh century we again find women who exercised a great influence on their age, but whose importance was of a different kind from that of their predecessors. Besides Beatrix and her daughter, the Margravine Adelaide of Susa in Piedmont had long been distinguished by intellect, wealth, and power.[1] Like Beatrix she had twice been married and twice been left a widow; her first husband was Herman, Duke of Swabia, her second the Margrave Oddo. Her daughter Bertha married the young Henry in 1065. Wearied of his wife, Henry wished to put her aside, but the Roman Church opposed the separation. Peter Damiani went as legate of the Church to Worms in 1069, and the King submitted for the first time to the papal command.

Death of Peter Damiani, 1072.

This was the last embassy undertaken by Damiani in the service of Rome outside Italy. He died on February 22, 1072, at Fænza, sixty-six years of age, with the reputation of having been the most pious man of the Church of his time, and one of the most zealous champions for reform, inspired by the purest motives.[2] Shortly before his death he had attended

[1] Damiani also wrote to her: *Adelaidi excellent. Duci.*, Opusc. xviii. 412. He compares her to Deborah. God only recognises women: *virgines cum Maria; viduas cum Anna, conjuges cum Susanna.* Benzo (v. 11) writes to her: *Domnæ Adelegidæ Romani Senatus Patriciæ*, which has already surprised Curtius (*De Senatu*, p. 217). Is this title (unusual after the time of Marozia) an invention of Benzo? Did the Romans receive noble women into their aristocracy?

[2] He wrote his own epitaph (Opera i. iv. p. 51):—

Quod nunc es, fuimus; es, quod sumus, ipse futurus.
His sit nulla fides, quæ peritura vides.
Frivola sinceris præcurrunt somnia veris,

the most sumptuous festival which had yet been seen in Italy. For the dedication of the basilica at Monte Casino, completed by the Abbot Desiderius, was celebrated on October 1, 1071.

This abbey was now the greatest in Italy. It numbered two hundred monks, many of whom zealously cultivated profane as well as spiritual learning. Stephen IX. had been abbot in 1057; his successor Desiderius, however, had attained a greater renown either by his literary talent, or by the learning of the scholars whom he gathered within his monastic academy. While the Lombard states were falling to decay, Monte Casino collected within her precincts the last flowers of culture belonging to this German race. Desiderius, or Dauferius, himself belonged to the Lombard house of Benevento. The greater number of the Italian monasteries had become impoverished, but Monte Casino still retained its wealth. The territory of the monastic republic, itself situated on unproductive limestone hills, formed a really flourishing state amid the rising states of the Normans, or the dying states of the Lombards. If Lombards as well as Normans seized the domains of the abbey from time to time, the robbers were compelled to restore their spoils, and the audacious conquerors probably feared the anathemas of the Lateran less than the sentence of excommunication which the abbot, throned on his cloud-capped hill of Casino or Cairo, hurled down on their "dissentient"

Flourishing condition of the abbey of Monte Casino.

Succedunt brevibus secula temporibus.
Vive memor mortis, quo semper vivere possis:
Quidquid adest transit, quod manet, ecce venit. . . .

heads. Monte Casino was the Mecca not only of the Southern Lombards but also of the rude Normans; they robbed, but they fervently reverenced S. Benedict, and, singing psalms, made pilgrimages to his grave. They hastened thither to unburthen themselves of their crimes, moral as well as political, by commuting accumulated centuries of penance for gold and silver. Thus the convent discreetly amassed the lucrative sins of Norman and other princes, and the gifts of Greek emperors, within her vaulted treasure-chambers.[1] The Pope and cardinals might look with envy on the coffers filled with gold byzants, or the jewels and damask hangings there accumulated, and must have sadly compared the exhaustion of the Lateran with this fabulous wealth, from the resources of which Desiderius in five years had built the new basilica, the marvel of Southern Italy of those days.

Festival of dedication of M. Casino.

The festival of the dedication was attended by distinguished guests from far and wide. The Pope came with Hildebrand, with Damiani, and with several other cardinals; ten archbishops of Southern Italy and forty-four bishops were present. The Norman counts and the last of the Lombard princes also attended. Richard of Capua came with his son

[1] The bronze church-doors, which belong to the time of Desiderius, are covered with the names of the places which were then in possession of the monastery. Among them are *S. Angelus de Algido*, *S. Agata de Toscolano*, *in Roma S. Maria de Pallara cum pertinentiis illorum*. We may see in the *Chronicle* the list of gold and silver offerings made by Guiscard and his wife Sigelgaita, who had herself buried here. The Empress Agnes also spent half a year at Monte Casino in penitential exercises.

Jordan and his brother Rainulf, a short time before the enemy of Rome, now her reconciled vassal; Gisulf of Salerno; Landulf, still lord of Benevento; Sergius, Duke of Naples; Sergius of Sorrento, the Counts of the Marsian territory, innumerable knights and nobles thronged to the ceremony; Roger and Robert Guiscard, being at the time engaged in attacking Palermo, were alone absent. The brilliant throng resembled a great parliament of Rome and Southern Italy, and seldom have so many celebrities been collected together. Every eye might rest in admiration on the heroes of the ecclesiastical conflict, in consequence of whose decrees the world was still ablaze, and the discerning might foresee that the failing Alexander would shortly be succeeded by the great Hildebrand, though they would scarcely have predicted that the Abbot Desiderius was also destined to wear the tiara.

The festival lasted eight days; Italy had never seen its equal, and, although the celebrated basilica of Desiderius no longer exists, the visitor to Monte Casino cannot even now resist a thrill of emotion as he touches the celebrated parchment on which the names of Alexander II., Peter Damiani, Hildebrand, Desiderius, Richard of Capua, Jordan, Rainulf, Landulf of Benevento, and Gisulf of Salerno were inscribed on the day of dedication, partly by their own hands.[1]

[1] I have seen the original parchment. Alexander II. therein declares that the body of S. Benedict, which was found uninjured in the alteration of the church, was shown to him. The monks thereby refuted the belief that it had been stolen by the Franks. Gregory's hand-

The festival was at the same time a festival of political alliance between Rome and the Normans and a national Italian ecclesiastical festival; in either sense a great demonstration against the German empire. In it, as it were symbolically, the efforts of Hildebrand celebrated the first victories of the new age which had dawned in the history of the Roman Church. [1]

writing is neat and beautiful: *Ego Yldibrandus qualiscunque Romane Ecclesiæ Archidiaconus ss.* I have seen it thus also on a bull of Victor II., where he signs: *Heldibrandus cardinalis subd. sce. romane eccle. dando concensit et subscripsit.* He therefore wrote his name in various ways.

[1] Leo of Ostia (iii. c. 28) describes the building and consecration of the basilica. Alphanus, a friend of Desiderius, who was himself present at the festival, celebrated the event in a poem (printed in Ozanam, *Documents inédits*, p. 261). It was also sung by other poets (*Cod. Mont. Casin.*, 47, fol. 22).

CHAPTER V.

1. Death of Alexander II.—Hildebrand ascends the Papal Chair—His Career; his Aims—His Ordination on June 29, 1073.

Alexander II. died on April 21, 1073, and was succeeded by Hildebrand. In this man of commanding genius the stern and magnificent spirit of the ancient Romans seemed reincarnate. He stood on the boundaries of two social periods; one order was passing away, another had but dawned. Hildebrand was essentially a politician, not a churchman, and he seemed but little fitted to wear the priestly robe. His importance consisted in the fact that he remodelled the hitherto existing relations of the Church to the world and the temporal power by one of the most violent revolutions known to history. He was the Cæsar of papal Rome: the sole rule of the Papacy the object of his policy.

Death of Alexander II., April 21, 1073.

Hildebrand was by birth, however, neither a Roman nor a Latin. His father Bonizo is said to have been a poor joiner of the Tuscan Soana, and the greatest pope of Rome belonged to the Lombard race, which so largely populated Tuscany.[1] Hilde-

Hildebrand.

[1] The Catalogues say *nat. Tuscus; Cod. Vat.*, 1437, adds: *patria suanensis opido Ronato;* the *Lives of the Popes* write *patria Suanensis oppido Rovaco;* Watterich, i. 293 and 308; Giesebrecht, iii. 1049;

brand had come to Rome when a boy under the protection of an uncle, Abbot of S. Maria on the Aventine. There he may have taken the Benedictine cowl, for he became a monk, and afterwards entered the order of Cluny; and it is in his genius that the hierarchical ideas of this order took an all-dominant form. His vehement nature could not remain buried in the ascetic mysticism of the time; on the contrary, his soul reissued healthy but endowed with fanatical strength. He learned to despise the world, but nevertheless desired to rule it.

The narrow ideal of a cloistral sanctity found no place in the mind of Hildebrand, which was born to exercise an energetic influence on the world. The sight of a profoundly corrupt society drove the sensitive Damian to a hermitage, but Hildebrand with a yet deeper pain surveyed the hierarchical decline of the Roman Church. We must remember that during his aspiring youth he had seen a moral monster seated on the chair of Peter; we must also remember that the Roman Church had been degraded to the level of a provincial bishopric, held by a lawless family of counts as an investiture for its younger

Hugo Flavign. (*Chron.*, ii. 122) erroneously calls him a Roman of Rome. The name Hildeprand is common among the Lombards. Bonizo is abbreviated from Bonipert. Diminutives of Lombard names ending in *izo* instead of *bert* are peculiar to Italy in the eleventh century: Rapizo, Roizo, Berizo, Albizo, Gepizo, Guinizo, Gunzo, Ingizo, Herizo (Heribert). The Lombard families of Gregory VII. and of Napoleon (Bonipert) belong to the same country, their characters are of the same order. Legend represents Hildebrand as a child prodigy: flames sprang from his head, and, when an infant, out of wood shavings he put together the words: *Dominabitur a Mari usque ad Mare.*

sons. A reflective mind, filled with the consciousness of the historic task of the Papacy, was forced speedily to discover the causes of its ruin and to seek the means of its restoration. The causes were found in the ascendancy of the temporal power over a clergy who had become feudalised, and in the loosening of the bonds of Church discipline; the restoration required the reform of discipline, the union of the collective Church under the supremacy of Rome, the emancipation of the Papacy, firstly, from the influence of the civic nobility, secondly, from the royal patriciate, and the deliverance of the clergy from lay investiture.

When harassed by schism and civic factions, the popes were accustomed to summon the German kings to Rome, and to crown them emperors, and had each time paid for the transient services they had received with the renewal of their vassalage under the imperial power. In his youth Hildebrand had attended the Synod of Sutri, in consequence of which Henry III. had reduced the Papacy to a bishopric, with which he invested his German favourites as he had been accustomed to invest them with Bamberg or Mainz. He carried Gregory VI. back with him to Germany, and while Hildebrand accompanied the Pope in his exile to Cologne, he had sufficient leisure to reflect on the slavery into which the Papacy had been sunk by its deliverer, the Emperor. The question was, how to remove the contest from civic territory to a universal field, and to make the entire empire the theatre of strife. It was necessary to deliver the Papacy from the imperial supremacy

and this deliverance could only be effected when the Church was severed from the laws of the State. For centuries feudalism had closely interwoven the two orders; the prohibition of investiture by lay hands would deliver the Church from its feudal imperial bonds; celibacy would sever the whole body of the clergy from secular society, its duties and its interests. To the pope alone would society be accountable, and the pope, exalted over all metropolitans and national churches, might venture, as their governing head, to reduce the kingly power to serve as handmaid to the Papacy.

These great designs gradually formed themselves in the mind of Hildebrand. We have spoken of his restless activity since the elevation of Leo IX., and have observed how, as cardinal and chancellor, after the decree of election, he step by step won power and freedom for the Papacy. Great minds rise and fashion themselves during times of violent revolution, and before himself becoming pope, Hildebrand had taken part in the struggle for reform during the reign of six predecessors. The period of apprenticeship was long and difficult, but no monarch ever entered on his office with the like profound knowledge of temporal affairs, of men and means, or with so clear a consciousness of his aims.

The party of reform had framed a plan of action, to which Beatrix of Tuscany could not have been a stranger. In the midst of a tumult the archdeacon was to be raised to the pontificate as it were by divine inspiration of the people. On April 22, while the dead Alexander still lay unburied in

the Lateran, Hildebrand was proclaimed Pope by the enthusiastic people; he was conducted to S. Pietro in Vincoli by the exulting cardinals, and amid shouts of joy from the populace. The cardinals read the already prepared decree of election, and the densely crowded audience could without flattery applaud the eulogy which celebrated the virtues of the new pope.[1] Hildebrand elected Pope, April 22, 1073.

Gregory I., when elected Pope, had striven by flight to avoid the office thrust upon him. A humble resistance would scarcely have befitted the seventh Gregory, the minister versed in the diplomatic affairs of five popes. He feigned no uncertainty concerning a result of which he was secure; he could fearlessly respond to the acclamations which greeted him, as were he a general who, after twenty victories, was hailed as emperor by his legions. And yet this man, on whom was laid so great a destiny, hesitated a moment before mounting the summit of power, a summit which, owing to their very incapacity to measure its fateful heights, men of inferior minds have so frequently mounted in joyous haste.[2]

[1] Wido of Ferrara, an enemy of Gregory, gives a lively description of the election scene, which had been pre-arranged: *concursus factus est populi, Ildebrandus capitur, Ild. discerpitur, Ild. distraitur, Ild. eligitur.* The decree of election is given at the beginning of Gregory's *Regesta.* Henry's adherents, Wido, Benzo, &c., ascribe the election to bribery, and Landulf senior (*Hist. Mediol.*, iii. c. 31), calls it Matilda's work: *pacto secretiss. cum Oldeprando—nec non qui plurimis Romanis ossibus Albimi et Rufini sparsis* (a witty expression of the time for silver and gold).

[2] *Nimis expavit, et quasi extra se raptus cucurrit ad pulpitum,*

Hildebrand's opponents, of whom many appeared in order to cast the stigma of simony on the election of such a pope, spread the rumour that it had been effected by craft and bribery. The assertion, however, was untrue. The great majority of the Romans had voted for Hildebrand, the man of the time. His blameless life commanded respect, his genius admiration. And if an uncanonical election would have immediately exposed him defenceless to his innumerable enemies, is it possible that the cautious Hildebrand would have accepted the tiara?

The new decree of election had expressly preserved the right of ratification to Henry, and Gregory could not evade it. He therefore notified his election to the King; he did not seek for the assent, but prudently delayed his consecration until he was either assured of Henry's ratification, or until he could elude it. The unsparing severity with which a man such as he must carry out the decree of reform, alarmed the simonist bishops of France and Germany. Henry was advised to refuse his ratification of the election. If, instead of a young prince led astray by his passions, the occupant of the German throne had been a man of vigour, Gregory's elevation would never have been tolerated. A candidate who was necessarily an opponent of the empire would undoubtedly have been overthrown before he had acquired strength. The Pope, however, like many great rulers, had the luck to rise to power at a time when the strong were dead, and

cupiens populum ipsum a sua intentione retrahere. Card. Aragon., p. 304.

the enemy was weak. His magnificent victories, which still remain a subject of astonishment to present generations, were only possible while the German empire was sunk in confusion and while an unstable youth filled the German throne.

The revolt of the Saxons crippled the royal power of an immature prince, and Henry did not venture to injure his insecure position by arousing the most terrible of all enemies. He sent Count Eberhard to Rome in order to assert the rights of the crown by an inquiry into the election. The inquiry, however, was merely a form, and nothing more. Gregory VII. was consecrated Pope on June 29, the Festival of the Prince of the Apostles, in presence of the Imperial Chancellor of Italy, the Margravine Beatrix, and the Empress Agnes.[1]

2. Gregory VII. receives the Oath of Fealty from the Princes of Benevento and Capua—It is refused by Robert Guiscard—Gregory's Scheme of making the Princes Vassals and their Dominions Fiefs of the Roman Church—His summons to a General Crusade—Matilda and Gregory VII.—Gregory's first Council in Rome; his Decree of Reform.

The history of the Church reveals the struggles of Gregory VII. for the supremacy of the Papacy; our

[1] That Gregory failed to sue for Henry's ratification is almost beyond a doubt. That Henry gave it, is asserted only by Bonizo, other authors deny it. See Floto, *Gesch. Heinrich's IV.*, beginning of vol. ii. A formal ratification is quite out of the question.

history must keep within narrower limits. Although we cannot avoid a glance at the general tendencies of the age and at circumstances at large, we must nevertheless adhere to political matters, must show the fate that befell the city in the struggle that followed between the crown and the tiara, and her share in the controversy that convulsed the world. For the city also bore an active part in the dispute, her existing relations to the emperors and the popes causing her to prove an active and effective power in universal history.

Before holding his first Council, Gregory went to Apulia to make the Normans renew their promises to the Papacy, and like a prudent general to secure a strong basis of action. The popes, unable to expel the intruders, strove at least to detach these dangerous neighbours from the duty of vassalage to the empire, to make them serviceable to the Church, and, with a policy worthy of ancient Rome, to weaken these vassals by divisions and jealousy. In August 1073 Gregory received the oath of fidelity from the Lombard Landulf VI. of Benevento; in September the homage of the Prince of Capua. Richard became tributary, promised not to render the oath of vassalage to the empire without the Pope's consent, and bound himself to defend the State of the Church and finally the validity of the law of election.[1]

[1] *Constitutio inter D. Gregorium Pp. VII. et Landulphum Beneventan. Princip.* of August 12. *Reg. Greg.*, i. ep. 18 a, ed. Jaffé, *Bibl. rer. German.*, ii., *Monumenta Gregoriana.* Landulf throughout acknowledges himself as an obedient vassal. The other treaty of Capua, 18 *Kal. Octbr. Ibid.*, ep. 21 *a.*

Guiscard would not follow the example of a rival; the conqueror of Sicily refused to accept his conquests as fiefs from the Pope, whose designs he understood; he also required better conditions and still greater gain of territory. He refused the oath of fealty, and Gregory in consequence insidiously sowed dissensions between him and Richard.[1] His efforts to reduce Southern Italy into a Roman vassal state could no longer afford surprise, but wondrous was the sudden candour with which he unfolded other and higher claims on the part of the sacred chair.

Gregory VII.'s claims to supremacy over foreign countries.

If a pope nowadays asserted that foreign princes owed him vassalage, he would be regarded as insane; nevertheless there was a time when popes made the assertion in all seriousness, when they claimed to possess political supremacy over half the world, when nations unreservedly admitted these claims, and when kings either feared them or yielded them submission. The donation of Constantine was the soil from which such bold ideas originally sprang; the Norman military vassalage served as a further step to larger demands. Scarcely had he become Pope when Gregory alarmed kings by his design of founding a new Roman universal dominion. The countries of the West were to be vassal states of spiritual Rome, their rulers the vassals of S. Peter. Gregory's predecessors had exhausted their

[1] *Reg.*, i. ep. 25, to Herlembald: *Normanni, qui ad confusionem et periculum reipublicæ et S. E. unum fieri meditabantur, in perturbatione in qua eos inveninus nimis obstinate perseverant, nullo modo, nisi nobis volentibus, pacem habituri.*

powers in recovering the lost patrimonies, but this forceful man looked beyond the shreds of the ecclesiastical state to the sovereignty of the world. We read with astonishment the letters, written in part soon after his elevation, in which he calmly announced to foreign princes that their realms belonged to the sacred chair.

These high-flown pretensions were also derived from the idea that Christ is Lord of the world, and that the pope as his vicar shared his prerogatives; the popes, however, would not have dared to advance these claims had not the mystical conception of the nature of the Papacy, as also the state of confusion in which civic relations were involved, given them encouragement. Conquerors hastened to give legitimacy to the spoil they had acquired by obtaining, in exchange for the oath of fealty, the grace of God from Christ's representatives. Pretenders, in order to secure their crowns, offered their dominions in fief to the Pope. Princes sought refuge in the bosom of the Church from motives of prudence as well as piety. Sin-laden or pious kings offered yearly rents from the property of their subjects, who had never been consulted, and the Lateran converted a pious gift into an obligatory tribute. Accustomed to harassed proprietors surrendering their free property in order to receive it back as a fief of the Church, the Church sought to extend these legal relations, to expand these domains into kingdoms, and to make them all tributary to herself. Their titles were innumerable, often curious. Gregory VII. claimed feudal supremacy over Bohemia,

because Alexander II. had conceded the use of a mitre to Duke Wratislaw; over Russia, because the fugitive Prince of Novgorod had visited the grave of S. Peter, and had offered him his country as a fief; over Hungary, because Henry III. had placed the lance and crown of that conquered land as votive gifts in S. Peter's. Scarcely was he elected Pope when he sent the Cardinal Hugh to guard the supremacy of the Church in Spain, the Spanish kingdom having belonged to the pope by right from of old.[1] He advanced the same claims over Corsica and Sardinia, over Dalmatia and Croatia, over Poland, Scandinavia, and England, countries which in all seriousness he considered as belonging to S. Peter.[2]

The genuine Roman audacity of such claims would now seem to us utterly incredible, had they not been put forward in a religious age and at a time when the world was regarded from a religious point of view, a time which finds its interpretation in the spirit of the Middle Ages. The quiet conviction

[1] *G. in Rom. Pontif. electus omnib. Principib. in terram Hispaniæ proficisci volentibus . . . non latere vos credimus, regnum Hyspaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse. Reg.*, i. ep. 7.

[2] Bohemia: *Reg.*, i. 38, ii. 7. Sardinia: *Reg.*, i. 29, 41. He admonishes Solomon the Hungarian king: *sceptrum regni quod tenes, correcto errore tuo, apostolicæ non regiæ majestatis beneficium recognoscas. Reg.*, ii. 13. To Geisa, *Reg.*, ii. 63, 70. To Demetrius (*rex Ruscorum*), *quod regnum illud dono s. Petri per manus nostras vellet obtinere eidem Petro ap. principi debita fidelitate exhibita, devotis precibus postulavit;* which actually happened. *Reg.*, ii. 74. Demetrius of Croatia tendered the oath of vassalage to the Roman Church, and paid an annual tribute of 200 byzants *de mihi concesso regno.* The oath of October 1076, Ind. XIV. in the *Cod. Albin.*, fol. 133, from which it passed into Cencius.

with which Gregory announced them imparts a certain magnificence to his mystical notions regarding the relations between the changing and perishing things of earth and the eternal principle of religion. He only saw the world as the form of the Christian idea, transient and unessential in its political aspect, but eternal in the Church, which was for him the order of the world, or that kingdom of God which contained in itself all other institutions as instruments destined to its service.

The realm of fact, however, did not correspond to his ideal, which he at first sought to realise in South Italy. His mind was occupied with serious schemes of a war against the Normans; he dreaded the growing power of Robert Guiscard, who boldly and sagaciously advanced towards his grand project of uniting Southern Italy into a kingdom. Gregory VII. could not tolerate a conqueror of such genius near him as an enemy. Guiscard must either be crushed or reduced to a vassal ally. He at first hoped to form a western league more successfully than Leo IX. had done, but his soaring spirit, intoxicated by the possession of the tiara, looked beyond the actual scope of the undertaking. Did he seize on what lay nearest, it was only as part of a mighty system. He formed schemes of placing himself at the head of a European host and first driving the Normans, Greeks and Saracens out of Italy, then rescuing Byzantium from the Mussulman, rendering it subject to the Roman Church, and finally planting the Cross in Jerusalem. He wrote to the princes of Italy, to William of Burgundy, and again,

in December 1074, to Henry, whom he informed that he himself would be the leader of the crusade, but that to him (the Emperor) he would confide the protection of the Roman Church.[1] What a fantastic project, and at what a time! Whatever the close of his pontificate may have been, he made a spirited beginning, as if, foreseeing the terrible struggles before him in Italy, he hoped to escape them while hurrying the enthusiastic world behind him to the East. Did he hope by a powerful stroke, and favoured by the enthusiasm of Christendom, to establish his hierarchical ideas in Europe with less difficulty? Or did he only veil his actual design —the subjugation of Southern Italy—by this scheme? He must have recognised that he could not personally throw himself into the religious wars of the East until the independence of the Church in the West had been attained. In this case, however, Gregory would have placed himself at the head of the crusade and perhaps have robbed the youthful Godfrey of Bouillon of immortality. A page in the world's history on which the greatest of all popes would have appeared, like an enthusiastic Alexander or Trajan, with the crosier and the

Gregory's scheme for a crusade.

[1] To William of Burgundy, February 2, 1074. *Reg.*, i. 46.—To Christendom, March 1, 1074. *Reg.*, i. 49.—To the Ultramontanes, December 26, 1074. *Reg.*, ii. 37.—To Henry, December 7, 1074. *Reg.*, ii. 31 : *Si illuc, favente deo, ivero, post Deum tibi Rom. Eccl. relinquo, ut eam et sicut sanctam matrem custodias, et ad ejus honorem defendas;* thus the text in Jaffé, *l.c.*, p. 145. The letter is full of assurances of affection. Mindful of the censures which had been incurred by Leo IX., Gregory said he only wished to terrify the Normans into peace.

tiara, at the head of fanatical myriads, has remained unwritten.

The colossal undertaking, however, degenerated into a caricature. True, fifty thousand Italian and even Trans-Alpine troops assembled, mustered by the Pope (he had excommunicated Robert at the March Synod of 1074) and Gisulf of Salerno in the woods of the Ciminian hill near Viterbo. The Countess of Tuscany, however, soon remained almost alone in her zeal. It is possible that Robert Guiscard—to work whose ruin Gregory had secured the co-operation of Richard of Capua and Gisulf—may have dissolved this alliance by artifice, and even the Norman expedition collapsed.[1]

Thus far Gregory had not been fortunate in securing the vassalage of Southern Italy; he found, however, compensation in the unlimited devotion of Tuscany. He might regard this province as a strong barrier, which covered him to the north against the attacks of Germany, and with more practical spirit he turned his gaze in this direction. The dream of universal dominion melted like mist, but Gregory created an ecclesiastical State out of Matilda's heritage. The Countess Matilda, educated in the school of her pious and courageous mother, was the friend and guardian spirit of the papal

The Countess Matilda.

[1] Bonizo, p. 812. *Reg.*, i. 84, is dated: *in expeditione ad montem Cimini, 2 Id. Junii Ind. XII. Reg.*, i. 85, to the empress *data in exped. ad s. Flavianum 17 Kal. Julii Ind. XII.* Amatus, iv. c. 13: *Et un lieu qui se clame mont Cymino fu assemblé lo pape, et Gisolfe prince de Salerne.* Concerning these circumstances among others, see G. Weinreich, *De conditione Italiæ inferioris Gregorio VII. Pont.*, Königsberg, 1864, n. ii.

hierarchy. This celebrated princess was bound to Gregory by the ties of a common nationality, for Matilda was of Lombard race by her father's side.[1] She was at this time twenty-eight years of age. Her marriage had been followed by a virtual separation owing to the constant absence of her husband. The brave and shrewd Godfrey the Hunchback shared neither the religious enthusiasm nor the Roman politics of his wife; he remained constant to Henry's banner, while Gregory made use of Matilda's aversion to him to rivet her the more firmly to his plans. He assigned her the Cluniac Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, as her spiritual adviser, and seldom has a confessor had to listen to the vows of so God-fearing and so strong a soul. The personal friendship between Gregory and Matilda, a connection of world-historic importance, stands alone in history. Never again has a pope stood beside a young and energetic woman in equally important alliance. Hatred and calumny have in vain sought to cast odium on the intimacy. Calm reason will always refuse to drag Gregory VII. down from the high estate of his all-powerful will to the low pleasures of an intrigue, although it is possible that a woman, lost in feelings of admiring friendship, may, with her admiration, have also given her heart. Matilda,

[1] That Matilda's ancestors were Lombards is shown by documents in Bacchini and Fiorentini. She acknowledged Lombard law on her father's side, Salic law on that of her husband Godfrey: *Ego qui supra Matilda Marchionissa professa sum ex natione mea legem vivere videor Lantgobardorum, sed nunc modo pro parte suprascripti Gottifredi qui fuit viro meo legem vivere videor Saligam* (Document A. 1079 in Fiorentini, App. vii.).

strong, high-spirited, superior in education to her age, a perfectly queenly woman, but under the spell of Gregory's genius, consecrated to his schemes the mind of a man, the heart of a woman, and a sincere belief in an ideal. She was childless, a fact that explains much. Had she been nothing more than a nunlike fanatic, the Marcella or Scholastica of her century, the friendship of a Gregory would still have rendered her in the highest degree remarkable; but this warlike Deborah of the Papacy, owing to her practical powers of government, deserves instead to rank beside the few great queens who at any age have attained renown.[1]

The Council of 1074.

Matilda inaugurated her activity for Gregory's ideas by her presence at his first Council, when the Pope (in the first week of Lent) assembled several bishops and princes. He here renewed the decrees of reform issued by his predecessors, and mercilessly deposed the married or simonist clergy. His letters bound all the bishops of the entire West to the unconditional fulfilment of these decrees, and the episcopate was already accustomed to the dictatorial interference of the Roman priest. As Leo the Isaurian desired by a decree to sweep the churches clear of idols, so

[1] Her mother died on April 18, 1076, at Pisa, where her sarcophagus may be seen in the Campo Santo, with a relief representing Hippolytus and Phædra and the inscription :—

Quamvis peccatrix sum domna vocata Beatrix ;
In tumulo missa iaceo quæ comitissa.

Reumont, *Tavole cronol. e sincrone della Storia Fiorentina*, on the year 1076. Godfrey was murdered in the same year ; Matilda now governed her territories alone. Her seals bear MATHILDA DEI GRATIA Si QVID EST.

Gregory wished finally to rid them of the uncanonical clergy, and, as formerly, so now was Christendom stirred to its uttermost limits. In the eighth century a Byzantine despot had raised the flag of reason and a pope named Gregory had placed himself between the emperor and the images sacred to Christendom; in the eleventh century a pope arose in the name of morality and ecclesiastical discipline, and a German emperor interposed between him and human passions, but unfortunately abuses and vices sheltered themselves behind his royal shield. In the struggle of the Church with the empire objects of secular policy were always intermingled; in the eleventh century, however, it was no longer the feeble remains of Roman absolutism in contest with which the aspiring Church gained her dogmatic autonomy and a temporal dominion; but instead two great and time-honoured systems, which struggled with one another on a false issue concerning supremacy, on a reasonable issue concerning their natural limits. Feudalism had almost inextricably confused the boundaries of the spiritual and temporal powers: this condition of things was intolerable; the spiritual order endeavoured by a violent process to free herself from the temporal, but the temporal could not and would not permit her rival to escape feudal obligations. A struggle longer and more terrible than the Thirty Years' War, a fifty years' war, was the result of this revolution, and unhappy Rome, the seat of the popes, became repeatedly the theatre of this fluctuating strife, ever remained the source whence it sprang and the sanctuary which contained the two symbols of battle, the imperial crown and the tiara.

3. Conditions in Rome — Gregory's Opponents — Wibert of Ravenna — Henry IV. — Resistance in Germany to Gregory's Decrees — Decision against Lay Investiture — Attempt of the Roman Cencius against Gregory.

Opposition in Rome to Gregory VII.

Gregory met with violent opposition in the city itself. In defiance of the decrees of the Synod hundreds of clergy lived here in concubinage, their children or nephews generally becoming wealthy on the property of the Church and inheriting the benefices of their father or uncle. A chronicler who bestows a glance upon S. Peter's has depicted for us the condition of the Roman churches. S. Peter's had sixty mansionarii, married laymen, guardians of the temple, who were daily accustomed to delude foreigners by reading mass in the vestments of cardinals and by receiving offerings. They held orgies in the cathedral at night, when the steps of the altars were profaned by scenes of lust, theft, and murder. Gregory exerted himself to banish this swarm.[1]

The entire throng of deposed priests with their clients and kindred hated him to the death; they joined the recalcitrant nobles in the city. The Arch-

[1] Bonizo, p. 811. The cardinals were also sufficiently grasping. The weekly services in S. Peter's were distributed between the Cardinals of SS. Maria, Chrysogonus, Cecilia, Anastasia, Lorenzo in Damaso, Marco, and Martin and Sylvester. Papal bulls had regulated the usufruct of the offerings laid upon the altar of S. Peter. The gifts presented there, if only those at Eastertide, were so great, that kings might envy the revenues of the priests. Bulls of Victor II. and Leo IX. in the *Bullarium Vatican.*, i.

bishop of Ravenna had also a secret understanding with the disaffected. The metropolitan of the time, Wibert, had formerly been chancellor and vicar of Italy, and the soul of the schism under Cadalus; he was the sworn opponent of Hildebrand, and was young and filled with ambition, prudence, and courage. He had obtained the patriarchal throne of Ravenna towards the end of Alexander II.'s pontificate; had attended in person the Synod of 1074, and had taken (and apparently submissively) the seat assigned him at the right of the new Pope, whom he hated. But he refused to send his vassals to the projected campaign against the Normans, nor would he summon them to punish the rebellious Count of Bagnorea. He held secret council with Cencius, and had apparently been commissioned by the German court to discover on what, and how great, a party it could reckon for support in Rome.[1] Wibert of Ravenna.

A rupture with the Pope was to be expected. The young Emperor, obliged to yield to the revolted Saxons, had undoubtedly made humble promises of subjection to the decrees of reform; his piteous letter, however, had been dictated solely by the necessity of the moment.[2] He regardlessly carried on the sale of spiritual offices; the Church of Germany, like the church of every other country, was simonist, and the majority of the priests were married men. The undertaking to compel these prelates, who lived like princes, and so many thousands of clergy in the empire, to yield obedience to the decrees of Rome must consequently have appeared presump-

[1] Bonizo, p. 811. [2] *Reg.*, i. 29 *a*.

tuous. When Gregory now sent legates after his first Council to accompany the Empress-mother back to Germany, his decree aroused an indescribable storm throughout the country. Public opinion was obliged to condemn the sale of spiritual offices, the bishops could find no reason for justifying simony, though they had sufficient grounds to oppose the monkish prohibition of marriage as unchristian.[1] In this tragic struggle, which made the institution of marriage a subject that affected the history of the world, nature was defeated and the austere spirit of monasticism triumphed. The mystical views of the age fought on its behalf, and the decree of celibacy was adroitly linked with the salutary prohibition of simony.

Gregory challenges the world to battle by his decrees.

The papal envoys—it is worth observing that the use of legates assumed an entirely new character after the time of Hildebrand, and that these nuncios now went into the provinces of the universal Church like the proconsuls of ancient Rome — the papal envoys demanded from Henry the dismissal of the counsellors excommunicated by Alexander II. To these counsellors the blame of the sale of the spiritual offices was generally attributed. The envoys also required the fulfilment of the decrees of the Synod in Germany. The spirited Archbishop Liemar of Bremen, however, saved the dignity of the German

[1] *Melius est nubere, quam uri*, said the German bishops with the apostle, and maintained *violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum, et dum consuetum cursum naturæ negaret fornicationi frena laxaret.* They called the Pope *hominem plane hæreticum et vesani dogmatis.* Lambert, *Annal. A.* 1074. The same violent struggle against celibacy arose in France and Spain.

Church, refusing, in concert with other bishops, to recognise a Synod held in Germany in presence of the Roman legates.

The whole of Germany, France, and Italy was in flames, both for and against the Pope. The incalculable struggle which he saw before him filled even Hildebrand with uneasiness.[1] His enemies in Rome, the bishops of Lombardy, the Normans, caused him dismay; he sought allies: he directed despairing appeals even to Denmark, whose King Sueno he summoned to the support of the Church, promising him in return a province in Southern Italy. As the Byzantine emperors took Varangians of the North, Sarmatians, and Huns into their service for their Italian wars, so would Gregory have brought the warriors of Jutland and Zealand against their kinsmen the Normans and other enemies, and, without any consideration for his native land, would then have invested these allies with the coasts already occupied by the Normans.[2]

At his second Council (at the end of February

[1] We still read his excited letters of this time: to Hugo of Cluny, Rome, January 22, *Reg.*, ii. 49, in which he says: *si non sperarem ad meliorem vitam, et utilitatem S. E. venire, nullo modo Romæ, quam coactus, Deo teste, jam a viginti annis inhabitavi, remanerem.* We seem to hear Gregory I. Thus also to Beatrix and Matilda, 18 *Kal. Nov. Ind. XIII. Reg.*, ii. 9.

[2] *Reg.*, ii. 51: *Est etiam non longe a nobis provincia quædam opulentissima juxta mare, quam viles et ignavi tenent hæretici, in qua unum de filiis tuis, si eum, sicut quidam episcopus terræ tuæ in animo tibi fore nuntiavit, apostolicæ aulæ militandum dares, cum aliquanta multitudine eorum qui sibi fidi milites essent, ducem ac principem et defensorem christianitatis fieri optamus. Dat. Romæ 8 Kal. Febr. Ind. XIII.* (Sicily? Naples? or Sardinia?).

Gregory VII. forbids the investiture of the clergy by lay hands.

1075) he forbade the lay investiture of the clergy. No bishop or abbot should for the future be invested with the staff and ring by king or emperor, and he thus boldly threw down the gauntlet before the united temporal power. When the reforming popes forbade the sale of spiritual offices by the laity, they struck at a reprehensible abuse, but Gregory attacked an ancient royal right by which kings had invested bishops, before their consecration, with ring and staff, in virtue of the property which these bishops held as fiefs from the State. The feudal relation between laity and clergy, which had become part of the constitution, was to be suddenly severed, and the clergy were to be removed from the feudal system. It was this celebrated decree which kindled a fifty years' war, and thus was to be avenged on Christendom the pious weakness of endowing churches with cities and lands, and the folly of kings who had bestowed princely power upon priests. The possession of crown lands had undoubtedly engendered frightful evils in the Church; spiritual offices were conferred by the temporal power without consideration as to fitness, and without any previous election were presented or sold to the most despicable of court favourites. The king frequently appointed bishops or abbots according to the caprice of the moment, by presenting them with a staff; they henceforth became vassals of the crown, served in person like generals in war and battle, and the priestly vestments scarcely sufficed to distinguish them from the duke or count, with whom they had political rights and duties, needs and every kind of

vice in common. To purify the priesthood from a secularisation so unapostolic was a necessity of religion and humanity. Gregory, however, desired to deliver the Church from dependence on the State and yet maintain her in her enormous possessions. He would not have understood had a well-meaning idealist informed him that the shortest way to the emancipation of the priesthood from the political power would have been to make it again poor and spiritual as the apostles had been.[1] His bold idea was to secure to the Church in every country her wealthy Dominium Temporale, to withdraw her everywhere from feudal obligations to the crown, to render her subject to the pope alone, and thus to convert the half of Europe into a State of the Roman Church.

The time seemed favourable for depriving monarchs of the right of investiture, for Henry was now sorely harassed by the Saxons. His victory, however, on the Unstrut in June 1075 left his hands free, and he now began to feel himself a king. Milan, Ravenna, Rome, the Normans offered themselves as natural allies, and better leaders than Cencius. Wibert and Cardinal Hugo, who had again turned renegade to the Church, would have produced a formidable alliance against Gregory. The royal power

[1] The Acts of the important Synod (February 24 to 28) have perished; the short account of them (Mansi, xx. 443) does not mention the Investiture; Pagi, however, has already indicated the decree relating to it from *Reg.*, iii. 10 (*ad A.* 1075); this from Hugo Flavin., *Chron. Verdunense ad A.* 1074, and Arnulph, *Hist. Med.*, iv. c. 3: *palam interdicit Regi jus deinde habere in dandis Episcopatibus; omnesque laicas ab Investituris ecclesiarum summovet personas.*

was re-established in Milan. After the city had been torn asunder for years by the war of the Patarines, nobles and people rose against the intolerable tyranny of Herlembald. The famous captain fell in battle with the standard of S. Peter in his hand; the Milanese demanded and received an archbishop from Henry, and Gregory (at whose court the banished Archbishop Atto dwelt) could not prevent the investiture of Tedald.[1] He deprived him of his office, but with the fall of Herlembald his influence in Milan was at an end.

His most active enemy was Cencius, the head of the malcontents in Rome. The Prefect of the city summoned courage to bring this violent man to trial, but did not venture to execute the sentence of death which was passed upon him. Even Matilda interceded in his favour. Cencius gave hostages; his tower was destroyed, and for a time he remained quiet.[2] He meditated revenge. As the breach with Henry had become irreparable, he formed a scheme for Gregory's overthrow. In the name of the Romans he urged Henry to seize on the power in the city, and promised to deliver the Pope a prisoner into his hands. An attempt on the life or the freedom of the Pope as at the time of the first Iconoclastic dispute would, it was hoped, put an end

Conspiracy of Cencius against Gregory VII.

[1] In July or August 1075. Giulini, xxvi. 525.

[2] I place these occurrences in the year 1074, the time of the first Synod. Bonizo (p. 814) says, Cencius was pardoned at Matilda's intercession, and Matilda was present at the first Council. P. Bernried (c. 45 *seq.*) is the most circumstantial concerning Cencius. Benno invents stories of the captive Roman's being subjected to dreadful tortures.

to the strife. Whether or not Henry was accessory to the plot remains uncertain. Meanwhile, the conspiracy, supported neither by the Lombards, nor by the Normans, nor by the King, was reduced solely to the isolated crime of a bandit, the odium of which was heightened by the place and time.

He seizes and ill-uses the Pope in Rome, 1075.

The scene at Christmas of 1075 is one of the most hideous in the history of mediæval Rome. The Pope read the usual mass on the vigil of the festival at the altar of the *Presepio* in S. Maria Maggiore; shouts and the clash of arms arose; Cencius rushed into the church, sword in hand, with the nobles who were his fellow-conspirators. He seized the Pope by the hair at the altar, dragged him bleeding away, threw him on his horse, and galloped through the city by night to his palace or tower in the region Parione.[1] The city was in uproar, the alarm bells were rung, the people rushed to arms, the priests with lamentations veiled the altars, the militia barred the gates, men with torches paraded every street. No one had seen the Pope. In the morning the people assembled for counsel on the ancient Capitol; the days of the Catilinarian conspiracy seemed to have returned. Tidings arrived that the Pope was imprisoned in the tower of Cencius, and here indeed Gregory found himself wounded and

[1] Berthold, *Annal. ad A.* 1076: *ab altari rapuit, vulneratum cepit, et in turrim suam tanquam latronem sacrilegum cum maximo ludibrio tractum, et miserabiliter coartatum incarceravit.* Thus also Bonizo, p. 814; Lambert; Arnulf, *Gesta Med.*, v. c. 6. According to Pandulf Pisan. (Murat., iii. i. 305), Cencius's house stood *in loco, qui vocatur Parrioni.* P. Bernried (c. 49) even relates: *unus educto gladio caput ejus abscindere voluit—percussum tamen in fronte.*

alone. He was ill-treated; the robber, who had not been able to remove him from the city, required the Pope to bestow the best Church lands upon him in fief; the robber's vassals mocked at the Pope; his savage sisters, like furies, overwhelmed him with a flood of talk in which the name Matilda was probably often repeated; nevertheless Gregory did not lose his dignity.[1] If the faction of Cencius sought to recall Rome to freedom, it obtained no hearing. Its short resistance was soon overcome, and the infuriated populace attacked the palace in order to set the Pope at liberty. Cencius, finding himself lost, begged for mercy or with a drawn sword demanded it; the Pope forgave him, promised him absolution, if after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he would return penitent to his feet.[2] Gregory's courage never perhaps showed itself more conspicuous, or his character nobler, than on this night, and after his escape. He kept his word even to the murderer, whom he protected from the rage of the populace. He was led back in triumph to S. Maria, where this marvellous man, more fortunate than Leo III., finished the interrupted mass. The populace meanwhile destroyed the houses of Cencius and his party, while the savage captain and his kinsmen left the city. He abandoned his pilgrimage to Jerusalem,

Gregory is released by the populace.

[1] Berthold represents Cencius like a brigand in some romance: *gladio super collum illius furialiter stricto, torvus, minax, et omnifariam terrificus* (!) *thesaurum et firmissima s. Petri castella in beneficia sibi extorquere non cessavit ab eo; sed omnino non potuit.* The description of the furious sisters is doubtless true. P. Bernried, c. 51.

[2] P. Bernried depicts the Pope's sermon with emphasis. The whole scene must nevertheless have been shorter and less moving.

however, at the first milestone, and scornfully threw himself into one of his castles on the Campagna, collected vassals and malcontents, and ravaged with impunity the domains of the Church.[1]

The greatest of all popes had to suffer the contradictions of fate; the world trembled before him; kings knelt at his feet, but the rebellious Romans dragged him forth by the hair. He humbled his crowned enemies, but was unable to punish the most despicable of his adversaries, and in the silence of his heart must have re-echoed the reflections of Solomon on the nothingness of all earthly majesty.

Gregory issued from the darkness of that night with the glory of an indomitable man and a martyr. The people of Rome gave conspicuous proofs of their attachment to him and of reverence for his genius. These demonstrations were both important and encouraging. His friends may have accused Henry of a share in the outrage, and the only result of the insane attempt was that of quenching the last hope of a compromise. The indignant Gregory threw aside the last fetter of respect for mankind, if any such restrained him. He now determined to advance boldly against the greatest of his enemies among princes. It behoved him to force the temporal power in the Roman empire to bend to the

[1] Berthold: *Castellum—ibi contiguum occupavit, ubi—rapinis et sanguine victitabat.* Since Gregory charged the Bishop of Præneste to excommunicate Cencius, this fortress may have been that of Præneste itself. According to Lambert and P. Bernried, the Romans destroyed the property of Cencius, and hanged nine of his adherents in front of S. Peter's. Benno in consequence abuses the Pope as faithless, which is ridiculous.

decrees of the Church. The battle between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., the two representatives of Church and State, is perhaps the most skilful drama ever enacted in political history.

4. BREACH BETWEEN GREGORY AND HENRY—THE KING CAUSES THE POPE TO BE DEPOSED AT WORMS—HIS LETTER TO GREGORY—HENRY IS EXCOMMUNICATED AND DEPOSED IN ROME—CONSTERNATION AROUSED BY THE STEP—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO OPPONENTS—GREGORY'S TWENTY-SEVEN ARTICLES.

As the youthful Henry, filled with self-importance by his victory over the Saxons, no longer kept any of his promises, continued to sell spiritual offices as before and brought the excommunicated counsellors to his court, Gregory took occasion to drive him to extremities. His last letter to the King was the challenge of a subtle and prudent opponent who had equipped himself in silence for the combat. He demanded from Henry a contrite acknowledgment of his sins; he even required the signature of a bishop who would attest the repentance of the King; he boldly gave him to understand that he might meet with an end like Saul's.[1] Roman legates had already gone to Goslar; they required the King to do penance for his sins and vices, and in case of his

[1] *In mente habeas, quid Sauli post adeptam victoriam—de suo triumpho glorianti, et ejusd. prophetæ monita non exequenti acciderit, et qualiter a Domino reprobatus sit. Reg.*, iii. 10 (Rome, January 8, 1076, or more correctly, December 8, 1075). The Jews jeer at the despotism of the Roman Church, the symbols of which, however, have been borrowed from their priesthood.

refusal, they announced the sentence of excommunication.

The son of Henry III., the first prince of Christendom, received the summons with just indignation; but instead of meeting the Pope with measured irony, he gave vent to his anger, and struck at his adversary with rude violence. He sent the legates back with indignity; burning with anger, he summoned a Council at Worms, and the German bishops, taken unawares, pronounced the Pope deposed on January 24. Every true statesman must have condemned the young King who, by this inconsiderate step, betrayed an entire lack of political judgment. Henry believed the Pope, who had arrayed all the temporal and episcopal powers in the empire against him, to be defenceless. But he deceived himself concerning his own strength, and he was deceived concerning the insecurity of the Pope's position in Rome by Gregory's enemies; for the excommunicated and restless Cardinal Hugo, who had assumed the air of an ambassador of the Romans at the Synod of Worms, was the Pope's most zealous accuser at this same Synod.[1] The long and puerile list of offences laid to Gregory's charge would have taxed the belief of his bitterest enemy. But the sentiment of freedom asserted itself in the German national Church in opposition to an ambitious Pope,

The Pope is deposed at Worms.

[1] According to P. Bernried (c. 67) he came with forged letters *sub omnium cardinalium, senatusque, ac populi nomine titulatis—ubi etiam continebantur postulatio novi pontificis, et abjectio legitimi pastoris.* Lambert, *Annal. A.* 1076: *deferens secum de vita et institutione papæ scenicis figmentis consimilem tragediam* (*i.e.*, a formal pasquinade). On the Council of Worms, see Hugo Flavin., ii. 431.

who robbed the episcopate of its last remains of independence, deposed bishops without trial by synod, even exhorted congregations to refuse these bishops spiritual obedience, and who, outside his own person, only seemed to recognise subjects in the world. Henry consequently summoned the threatened national Church into the field against the Pope.

Although the Papacy is merely the ruin of what it was, and although its theocratic power over monarchs already seems an astounding fiction, yet if we—the tranquil spectators of the past—but read the acts of those bygone times, we feel something of their passionate fervour even now. The King wrote to the Pope as follows:—

Henry's letter to the Pope.

"Henry, not by usurpation but by God's holy will, King, to Hildebrand, not Pope, but false monk.

"This salutation hast thou deserved, upraiser of strife, thou who art cursed instead of blessed by every order in the Church. Let me be brief: the archbishops, bishops and priests thou hast trodden under thy feet as slaves devoid of will. Thou holdest them all as ignorant, thyself alone as wise. We suffered all from reverence for the seat of the apostle; thou heldest reverence for fear, thou resistedst the royal power itself which God has conferred on us, and threatenedst to depose us, as if rule and empire stood not in God's hands but in thine. Christ has called us to the empire but not thee to the Papacy. Thou acquiredst it by craft and fraud; in scorn of thy monastic cowl thou obtainedst favour by gold, by favour arms, by arms the throne

of peace, from which thou hast destroyed peace, for thou armest the subjects against the powers that be and preachest treason against the bishops called by God, to depose and to condemn whom thou even givest power to the laity. Wilt thou depose me, a blameless king, who am judged by God alone, since the bishops left judgment over even an apostate Julian to God? Does not Peter, the true pope, say: 'Fear God, honour the king'? Because thou fearest not God, thou honourest not me, whom he has appointed. The curse of S. Paul touches thee, the judgment of all our bishops condemns thee, and says to thee: 'Descend from the apostolic throne which thou hast usurped, that another may take it, who will not do violence to religion, but will teach the true doctrine of Peter.' I, Henry, by God's grace King, with all our bishops call on thee: Descend, descend!"[1]

Such were the contents of Henry's letter to Gregory: a valuable document of the time. The illegal, because one-sided, deposition of the Pope by means of a German Synod was an act unheard of in the annals of the Church; it aroused the entire West. The royal envoys, however, hastened across the Alps; the Lombard nobles and bishops assembled in Piacenza received them with rejoicings; they assented to the decrees of Worms, and on their side deposed the Pope.

[1] *H. non usurpatione, sed pia Dei ordinatione Rex Hildebrando jam non apostolico, sed falso Monaco.* The letter, which I have abridged, in the *Cod. Udal.* (Eccard., ii. n. clxiii.) is printed in Bruno, *De bello Saxon.*, n. 66 *seq.*, and elsewhere frequently.

The imperial envoy brings the Pope the decree of deposition.

Roland, a priest from Parma belonging to the lower ranks of the clergy, was commissioned to carry the decrees of Worms and Piacenza to Rome; Henry had also addressed a proclamation to the Romans, in which, as patrician, he encouraged them to renounce Gregory, and to elect a new pope.[1] It is worthy of remark that Henry's dignity as patrician —he was not emperor—afforded an apparent legal authority for his proceedings against the Pope; since, in the deposition which he pronounced against Gregory, he appeals to his patrician power. The messenger appeared one day before the Council, which assembled in the Lateran on February 22. Scarcely had the first sitting been opened with the usual hymn when Roland entered and fearlessly addressed the Pope:—"My Lord, the King, and all the bishops on the other side of the mountains, command thee instantly to descend from thy usurped throne; for without their consent and that of the emperor no one can attain such dignity. You, however, brethren" (and the speaker turned to the clergy), "I summon on the coming Whitsuntide to the presence of the King, from whose hands you shall receive a pope; for this man here is not a pope, but a ravening wolf." A cry of indignation followed these words; the assembly rose from their seats; the Cardinal of Portus ordered the offender to be seized, and the Prefect of the city rushed on Roland

[1] They were, however, to spare Gregory's life: *exsurgite igitur in eum, fidelissimi, et sit primus in fide primus in ejus dampnatione.* Bruno, n. 66. Henry informed the Romans of the contents of his letter to the Pope, in a different form, however; as it were, epitomised.

with his sword. Gregory's audacious system might have been shattered by a fanatical sword-thrust, but the Pope, interposing, prevented the murder of the envoy.

Calm being restored, the Synod proceeded to energetic action. The Lombard and German bishops who had signed the decree were excommunicated, and at the beginning of the Council Gregory had already the satisfaction of receiving some of those German bishops, who, filled with consternation, had hastened across the Alps to throw themselves at his feet. The Synod demanded the extremest penalty of excommunication against the King, while the Empress Agnes was present as participator at a Council in the basilica, where every word seemed aimed at her very heart. Although the widow of the vigorous Henry had renounced her son for the Roman priests, the feelings of a mother could not be entirely stifled by the incense that she inhaled in Rome.[1]

Gregory VII. places Henry under the ban.

Gregory's excommunication fell on the world like an actual thunderbolt, and like a thunderbolt struck the head of the chief monarch in Christendom. Never had a curse produced a like result. All other papal excommunications had been feeble in comparison to that world-historic blow which set the West aflame. It forms a terrible but sublime

[1] *His omnibus Agnes Imp. mater regis intererat, cujus animam ipsius gladius damnationis non parum sanciaverat:* Berthold A. 1076. She herself informed Altmann of Passau of her son's excommunication in brief terms and without displaying any feeling (Hugo Flav., *Chron.*, ii. 435). She said that Henry's envoys had been imprisoned by the Romans, and Henry, writing to Hanno of Cologne, described their barbarous treatment (Urstisius, i. 393).

drama out of the darkness of the Middle Ages, and will seem the more surprising the further the progress of mankind leaves mediævalism behind.

Universal belief endowed the head of the Church with the power of blessing and cursing, and no secular authority could dispute the right of ecclesiastical censure. Kings as well as all other laymen were subject to Church discipline, and the proud Gregory was able to ask: "When Christ said to Peter: 'Feed my sheep,' did He in any way except kings?" Anathemas were the recognised weapons of the popes. Was a Gregory to hesitate to adopt this weapon against a king who had degraded the Church by abuses and had declared the Pope deposed? But the unexampled audacity of this excommunication shook the world to its foundations. The conception of papal authority had not yet been pushed so far that the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the King of the Romans could leave mankind undismayed. Still greater astonishment was aroused by the presumption (hitherto unparalleled) of the Roman bishop in declaring that the head of the empire had forfeited his crown and in releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance; an act which sowed hatred and rebellion throughout the provinces.[1] Is it possible for a later age fully to comprehend

[1] *Depositio regis H.* in P. Bernried, c. 76. Mansi, xx. n. 467. The Pope addresses S. Peter: *mihi tua gratia est potestas a Deo data ligandi atque solvendi in cœlo et in terra—per tuam potestatem et auctoritatem, H. regi filio H. Imp., qui contra tuam Ecc. inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicor. et Italiæ gubernacula contradico, et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti, quod sibi fecere vel facient, absolvo, et nullus ei sicut regi serviat interdico. . . .*

that there was a time when the pope derived so god-like a power from a poor and peaceful apostle? To our times, which are not so very far removed from the Middle Ages, this usurpation of god-like majesty in the person of a miserable mortal, the passing son of the moment, who assumes the power of blessing or damning for eternity while the breath of an instant can sweep him away, leaving no trace behind, is sufficiently astonishing. An awful grandeur belongs to that mediæval priesthood which so boldly raised itself beyond the confines of eternity.

The news of the deposition of the King of the Romans made an indescribable impression in the West. The entire Roman empire, says a chronicler of the time, was shaken; the judgment of mankind was perplexed by so unparalleled a deed, while priests searched the annals of the Papacy for the record of similar proceedings in Gregory's justification, and hoped to appease the indignant surprise by some examples of episcopal power, examples, however, which would have been wholly inadequate to the present case.[1]

Henry and Gregory, now opponents for life and death, had taken their stand upon similar grounds; each had declared the other deposed, each had

[1] Hugo Flav., *Chron.*, ii. 437: *præ admiratione se ipsos non capiebant, impossibile hoc esse proclamabant.* Bonizo, p. 815: *postquam de banno regis ad aures personuit vulgi, universus noster Romanus orbis tremuit.* Otto of Freising, *Chron.*, vi. c. 35: *lego et relego Romanor. Regum et Imperator. gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano Pont. excommunicatum, vel regno privatum.* Gregory himself, writing to the Germans, set forth his right of excommunicating the King (Bernried, c. 78). His letter to the faithful, *Reg.*, iii. 6. See also *Reg.* viii. 21.

abandoned the ground of law and usurped a right which he did not possess. But their weapons were unequal. A king of this age, even though he wielded the sword of a hero, was powerless against a pope armed with the anathema. The struggle of a king with a pope was like that of an ordinary man with a magician. Henry had rushed into the combat with blind impetuosity, but Gregory had calculated his plan of operations with subtle skill, and the Pope, who was apparently devoid of allies, could finally take the field with greater strength than his royal enemy.

Both were despotic natures; but the arbitrariness of the King was checked by the constitutional counterpoise of the imperial system, while the hierarchical power of the Pope was no longer restricted by bishops and councils. The fickle character of a vicious prince detracts from our sympathy for his fate; the actual abuses in the Church, which he protected, made the victory of the Pope desirable as far as it affected these abuses; but the exaggerated programme of papal infallibility and supremacy which Gregory put forward terrifies the judgment and lessens our interest in that salutary reform, even though we recognise the necessity of emancipating the Church from the political power. Although the composition of the twenty-seven articles, which have been inserted in Gregory's Regesta, is doubtful, we may, in any case, consider their most striking features, enunciating clearly and plainly as they do the aims of Gregory—aims which he himself had candidly avowed in his letters.

Programme of the Gregorian Papacy.

"The Roman Church has been founded by God alone. Only the Pope has the right to issue new laws, to found new sees, to depose bishops without the sentence of a synod. He alone has the right to make use of the imperial insignia. He alone offers his foot to be kissed by princes. His name alone is invoked in all churches. His name Pope is unique in the world. He has the right to depose emperors. He can release subjects from their allegiance to unjust rulers. Without his authority no chapter, no book, is canonical. His decision is unimpeachable. He can be judged by no one. The Roman Church has never erred, and never will err throughout eternity, as the holy Scriptures prove. If the Roman pope has been canonically elected, he becomes holy by the merits of S. Peter. He only is Catholic who is in unity with the Roman Church."[1]

[1] *Dictatus papæ* (we should now call it *syllabus*) in Baronius, *ad A.* 1076. *Reg.*, ii. 55 *a*. Compare with this what Voigt (*Hildebrand*, &c., p. 172) has compiled from the Pope's letters. I note with pleasure that the account of the period of Gregory VII., given in Planke's *Christlich-Kirchlicher Gesellschaftsverfassung*, iv. 1, seems to be the best that we have on this subject. Giesebrecht (vol. iii.) has since, from the wealth of materials at his command, thrown new light on this subject.

5. Revolt of the Estates of the Empire from Henry IV.—He divests himself of the Regal Power—He seeks Absolution from the Ban—Canossa (1077)—Moral Greatness of Gregory VII.—The Lombards renounce the King—He makes Overtures to them—Death of Cencius—Death of Cinthius—Death of the Empress Agnes in Rome.

Henry returned curse for curse. He soon recognised, however, the power of his Roman opponent, who led the rebellion into his own country, offered the nobles the alluring prospect of the throne, armed the terrible allies of priestly power, fanaticism and superstition, and incited the clergy, nobles and people of Germany to renounce allegiance to an excommunicated despot, and to elect another king, on whom he, as soon as he found him worthy, would bestow apostolic consecration. Had Henry been a true monarch he would have endured the excommunication, but his power rested merely on the insecure basis of feudalism, and to this organisation it was that the ambitious popes owed their successes.[1]

The history of the German empire depicts the revolt of princes, of bishops, of many but not the entire people from a King whom they feared or hated. Suffice it to observe that this highly gifted monarch, valiant in war but a prey to ungoverned passions, was driven by his German opponents to the disgraceful humiliation of Canossa. Two-thirds of

[1] Floto has excellently analysed the position of Henry IV.

Germany had revolted from political motives, and had taken part with Rome against the King; his powerful enemies, headed by Welf of Bavaria, Rudolf of Swabia, and Berthold of Carinthia, scorned his invitation to Worms, while they even consorted with the papal legates at Tribur in October. The fear felt by the princes of his monarchical designs, and their unfortunate party hatred, made them the allies of Rome. The entreaties of the King, that the dignity of the fatherland and empire might not be disgraced in his person, were in vain. The assembly at Tribur betrayed the fatherland, in recognising as legal the audacious step of the Pope in excommunicating their King, and in acknowledging the Pope's power of arbitration over the empire. They pronounced Henry deposed, if he were not released from the ban before February 2, 1077, on which date he was to be judged by a parliament in Augsburg, under the presidency of the Pope; meanwhile he was to live as a private individual in Speyer. The dejected prince submitted to a disgrace which even Charles the Bald would scarcely have endured. He revoked the decrees against the Pope, and withdrew to Speyer.

Unfortunate position of Henry IV.

The Imperial Diet at Tribur, February 2, 1077.

Gregory, whom the Germans invited to Augsburg, announced his coming. But while he journeyed through the territories of his friend Matilda, Henry, now seeking for absolution, set forth, attended by a scanty retinue, on paths infested by outlaws, and climbed the awful wintry ice-fields of Mont Cenis. The characterless King rushed from one extreme to the other; finding himself deserted, he flung aside

his weapons, and, like a suicide, hurled himself from the height of royal pride to the depths of humiliation. He threw himself at the knees of his enemy, who, looking upon him with surprise, placed his foot upon the royal neck. On receiving the tidings of Gregory's intended visit to Germany, reason prompted him to avert his coming. A true man would have collected an army and boldly thrown himself between the Pope and Germany; Henry, however, was destitute of genius, and only endowed with cunning. The first Italian expedition of the son of that Henry III. under whose iron hosts Italy had trembled, is the lamentable spectacle of the penitential pilgrimage of an excommunicated fugitive, praying for pardon for his sins—a triumph of superstition over reason and honour, but also a great victory of the moral power, represented by the Church, over rude despotism. The alleviating feature in Henry's shame is the touching fidelity of the wife, by which the disgrace of his journey was mitigated—the wife whom he had previously repudiated, but who now devotedly shared his dangers.

Henry's arrival in Italy was hailed with loud rejoicings on the part of the Lombards. The northern Italians had only seen German kings descend the Alps in order to advance with power on Rome to instal and depose popes and to take the imperium; they now believed that Henry had come to drive Gregory from his throne as an "enemy of mankind." Numerous vassals poured out from various cities on both sides of the Po, and Gregory, who had halted in Mantua, fled to Canossa, a castle

of Matilda's, and there shut himself up. The King meanwhile listened to the arguments of the counts and bishops, and his troubled heart became the prey of pride and fear, which together rent it asunder. With blindness indescribable the youth repelled the Lombard advances and rushed onwards to a moral death. The approaching Diet at Augsburg filled him with terror; shame bound his feet, anxiety drove him towards Canossa, until the fatal fortress at length met his gaze. There, behind triple walls, sat the priest who had cursed him, and a woman who covered this priest with her shield; while the bishops of Germany, tortured by stings of conscience, daily arrived in the castle to pray for absolution. Henry entered into negotiations to obtain remission of his sentence; women—the Countess Matilda and his mother-in-law, the Countess Adelaide—like tender-hearted sisters interceded in his behalf.

Two scenes will ever shine in the history of the Papacy,—monuments of the spiritual grandeur of the popes,—the terrible destroyer Attila retiring before Leo, and Henry IV. kneeling in the shirt of the penitent before Gregory. But the feelings of the beholder are unequally stirred by these two world-famous scenes. The first fills him with reverence for a purely moral grandeur, the other merely extorts admiration for an almost superhuman character. Nevertheless the weaponless victory of the monk has more claim on the admiration of the world than all the victories of an Alexander, a Cæsar, or a Napoleon. The battles fought by mediæval popes were not waged with weapons of iron and lead, but with those of

Henry IV. as penitent at Canossa, 1077.

moral power, and to the use or the effect of these spiritual means is due the fact that the Middle Ages occasionally attained a higher level than our own. Beside a Gregory a Napoleon seems merely a barbarian.

During three entire days the unfortunate King stood before the gate of the inner fortress, wearing the penitential shirt over his other garments, and praying for admission. Gregory hesitated, putting, as was but natural, no trust in the promises of a fickle prince. The humiliation of the King, however, rendered him an object of compassion, and even to Matilda Gregory's severity must have seemed cruel.[1] When he finally absolved the humiliated prince (on January 28) he at the same time annihilated his royal power; Henry was obliged to resign the crown into his hands and to remain a private individual until he had been judged by a council. In case of his restoration he was to swear to remain obedient to the will of the Pope.[2] Gregory perceived that through his means the Papacy would celebrate a moment imperishable in the annals of universal history. Otto I. had formerly shed tears at the sight of an insignificant Pope who raised his arms to him in supplication; Gregory wept from emotion as he

[1] P. Bernried (c. 84) depicts the general indignation against Gregory, who himself said: *ut pro eo precibus intercedentes, omnes quidem insolitam nostræ mentis duritiam mirarentur, nonnulli vero in nobis non apostolicæ severitatis gravitatem sed quasi tyrannicæ feritatis crudelitatem esse clamarent. Reg.*, iv. 12, to the Germans, to whom he triumphantly says: *Rex humiliatus ad pœnitentiam.*

[2] *Subditus Romano Pont. semper, dictoque obtemperans foret:* Lambert, as monk, without a trace of patriotic indignation.

beheld the King of the Germans, the overlord of the West, cast himself weeping on the ground at his feet. But the brazen spirit of the Roman monk was only momentarily softened. The majestic calm with which he executed sentence on Henry invests him with a terrible sublimity.

"If I," said he, while breaking the host, "am guilty of the offences laid to my charge, may the tasting of this wafer be my instant death." He swallowed the wafer amid cries of joy from the fanatic people, and calmly and coldly offered the remaining half to the King. Henry sank in pitiable nothingness in presence of the terrible ordeal, which he endured without dignity. Happily he had not been guilty of perjury like Lothar: and perhaps this moment of shame and despair revived the spirit of manhood in the depths of his heart and restored him morally to himself.

Human affairs have a limit both in height and depth, from which they descend or ascend. The same moment saw Gregory at the zenith of fortune and Henry at the nadir of his humiliation. The Pope now slowly sank to his ordinary level; the King slowly rose erect. As he issued from the castle, where he had left the dignity of the empire and the greatness of his father, as a man awakening from a terrible dream, he was received in Lombardy with the silence of the grave. The brave people, still in arms, turned away in contempt; the counts, the bishops either averted their faces or greeted him with coldness; the cities, in which the republican spirit had already made vigorous growth, refused

Effects of Henry's humiliation on the Lombards.

him shelter, or afforded him a reluctant hospitality outside their walls. A feeling of anger pervaded Northern Italy; Henry had inflicted irrevocable disgrace upon the crown; the Lombards had been ready to unite with him against the public enemy; he had now treacherously made a shameful peace with this enemy, and it was therefore necessary to raise the child Conrad in place of his unmanly father, to march with him to Rome, to crown him Emperor, banish Gregory and elect another Pope.[1]

Henry had only left Canossa to become the victim of a new conflict. If, as he told the Lombards, he had only sought for absolution in order to be free and to revenge himself on the Pope, there is no one but must condemn his perfidy, and justify Gregory's harshness. A student of mankind, however, such as Gregory, might tell himself that, although he could inflict the extremest penalty on a passionate prince, he could not compel him to endure it for ever. The excess of the victory naturally revenged itself on Gregory. With reason he refused Henry's entreaties that he might take the crown of Italy in Monza, and the King for a time kept the Lombards at a distance, and then endeavoured to make terms with them. In Piacenza he received his supporters, who had manfully rejected the absolution offered them by the Pope at Canossa. Wibert of Ravenna and also Cencius approached him. The Roman must have looked in wonder at a King who had cast himself in the dust before a Pope whom he himself a short

[1] Lambert gives a lively description of the feeling in Lombardy. Unfortunately this excellent source of history ends with the year 1077.

time before had dragged by the hair from a church. He now came to Pavia to seek his fortune against Gregory; but Henry, as it seems, hesitated to receive him. The revengeful Roman hovered about the gates of Canossa, indefatigable in devising plans and contriving conspiracies, until he suddenly died in Pavia. The Gregorians rejoiced that Catiline had been removed to hell; the men excommunicated by the Pope, however, Archbishop Wibert at their head, followed the obsequies of their friend with ostentatious pomp.[1]

Death of Cencius, 1077.

If the godless Cencius had been cast into hell, the pious Cinthius was removed to paradise. The Prefect, to whose care Gregory had entrusted the city during his absence, died late in the summer of the same year (1077), murdered in an ambuscade which Stephen (the brother of Cencius) had laid for him in the Campagna. The Romans of his party lamented and revenged the death of their Prefect. They attacked Stephen's castle, killed the murderer, placed his head in front of S. Peter's, and punished his accomplices with death or exile.[2] Cinthius thus shared the fate of his friends Ariald and Herlembald. The faithful also crowded to his grave. The Prefect,

Death of the Prefect Cinthius, 1077.

[1] Cencius' figure is characteristic of the conspirators, who constantly reappear in the history of Italy. Concerning his end, Berthold says, *ad A.* 1077: *rege non viso et insalutato, in puncto celerrimus descendit ad inferna.* Bonizo, however, says that the King received him at night: *Cencius amara morte mortuus est, cujus funus Guibertus cum aliis excommunicatis mirabili pompa celebravit.*

[2] Bonizo, p. 817: *per insidiam Stephani fratris Cencii—occisus est*, a few days before Gregory's return to Rome (in September). P. Bernried, c. 92: *occisus est ab apparitoribus Henricianæ persecutionis.* Berthold tells of his death, his virtues, his obsequies, and his miracles.

who in his lifetime had sometimes instructed them in sermons, worked miracles as a martyr in death. His remains, buried in a marble sarcophagus, in the paradise of S. Peter's, were long the object of reverence.[1]

Death of the Empress Agnes, 1077.

Henry's unhappy mother followed him to the grave on December 14. She died in the Lateran, broken-hearted by the fall of her son. Her remains were buried in the chapel of S. Petronilla near S. Peter's, and Agnes and Otto II. were the only crowned heads of German race who found a grave in Rome.[2]

6. Henry regains Courage—Rudolf of Swabia, rival King—Henry returns to Germany, Gregory to Rome—Fall of the last Lombard Dynasties in South Italy—Retrospective view of the Lombard Nation—Robert tenders Gregory the Oath of Vassalage—William the Conqueror and Gregory—The Pope recognises Rudolf and excommunicates Henry a second time—Wibert of Ravenna Anti-Pope—Turning point in the History of Henry and Gregory.

The manly resolution to restore the dignity of the monarchy became fixed in Henry's mind; he recognised his task, and with the courage of a hero

[1] Berthold: *in medio ipsius paradysi — devotissime est tumbæ marmoreæ impositus.* This is the *Sepulcrum Prefecti* of the *Mirabilia*, which has been erroneously held to be the tomb of Otto II. The *Graphia; cujus coopertorium* (the porphyry cover of Hadrian's tomb) *in paradiso b. Petri super sepulcrum prefecti*, as Peter Mallius also writes.

[2] The inscription given by Maffeo Vegius (Baron., *ad A.* 1077) from the grave of the Empress (the monument has now disappeared) cannot belong to this period.

set himself to fulfil it. The latter half of his life shows the prince as the heroic champion against the papal power, such as the Hohenstaufens, on whose family he himself had bestowed the Dukedom of Swabia, afterwards became.

The German rebels had invited the Pope to Forchheim, where judgment was to be pronounced upon the King in March. Gregory consequently summoned Henry to appear there, and for himself, in conformity with the treaty of Canossa, demanded a safe-conduct for the journey. Henry wished to evade the obligation and strove to prevent the journey, and the Pope sent his legates to Germany. He had probably no desire entirely to crush the humiliated King, but intended to render him a vassal of the sacred chair and to obtain his renunciation of the right of investiture as well as his recognition of all other papal demands. The sudden election of a rival king, however, threw his plans into confusion. On March 13, 1077, Rudolf of Swabia was elected German King in presence of the papal legates, and Henry was declared deposed. The election of a rival king, in which, as he solemnly afterwards swore, Gregory had had no part, led to an unexpected change in all affairs, and set in motion various forces which had hitherto lain dormant. It overthrew the treaty of Canossa and changed Henry's adversaries in Germany into rebels against a king who had been absolved by the Pope.[1] Prudence

Rudolf of Swabia rival king, March 13, 1077.

[1] Floto, ii. 137 and 138: papal legates were present at the election of the rival king, and exerted themselves also to obtain his recognition in the empire.

clearly commanded Gregory to remain neutral for the present and to profit by the opportunity of acting as arbitrator between two kings, of whom he recognised neither one nor other; since an almost miraculous change had reduced the German empire to the same state to which the Papacy had been reduced under Henry III.

Henry was obliged to hasten back to Germany to do battle for his crown. He appointed the Archbishop Tedald and Dionysius of Piacenza as his vicars in Italy and crossed the Alps on his homeward journey in April. The fatherland which he had left in so unkingly a fashion he now re-entered for the first time as King. His handsome, manly form, his princely bearing, his strength and bravery, now first threw aside their wrappings and rendered him the equal of the most renowned monarchs of the German empire.

Henry returns to Germany.

Gregory meanwhile, remaining in Matilda's fortress, heard the war-cries of the defiant Lombards, with whom Henry had effected a reconciliation. Privileges, which he had given them, strengthened the growing freedom of the cities, and Italy feared the ambition of a great Pope more than the imperial overlordship of an enfeebled King. The Lombards of every city and the entire Romagna rallied round Henry's banner[1]; they barred the passes of the Alps against Gregory, took prisoners his legates, and as early as May at a Diet in Roncaglia wished to renew the

[1] *Quotquot enim Latini* (*laici*) *sunt, omnes causam Heinrici, præter admodum paucos laudant ac detendunt;* thus Gregory himself wrote to the Germans in 1078; *Reg.*, vii. 3; and A. 1081: *cui ferme omnes Italici favent: Reg.*, ix. 3.

decrees of Piacenza and to depose the Pope. Matilda's troops alone prevented them from seizing Gregory by force of arms.

Gregory remained some months longer in Upper Italy, and then saw that it was impossible to reach Germany. On his return to Rome in September he was obliged to admit that he had fallen into a difficulty, that the battle with the German King, which he had hoped would have ended speedily, was now but beginning. True, he found the city tranquil, but the advance of the Normans caused him dismay. Henry did his utmost to embarrass him by so formidable an enemy, and the astute Robert Guiscard with great adroitness remained neutral between the King and the Pope. No longer disturbed in his plans, either by a Roman expedition or by a papal enterprise, Robert applied himself to the subjugation of Campania, where Amalfi afforded him a pretext for directing his arms against Gisulf of Salerno, his own brother-in-law, a cruel despot, and Gregory's most devoted friend.[1] In vain the Pope strove to avert Gisulf's fall. Robert formed an alliance with his former rival, Richard of Capua, besieged Salerno in May 1077, conquered the city, and forced Gisulf to surrender in the citadel. The last Lombard ruler, the son of the once brilliant Waimar, retained his miserable life and the freedom of his person; the Pope accorded him shelter in Rome, where he spent the remainder of his days in

Robert Guiscard rises to power.

Downfall of the last states of the Lombards.

[1] Amatus depicts Gisulf as a second Nero. *Et lo pape qui amoit Gisolfe sur touz les autres seignors, pourceque Gisolfe amoit tant lo pape et lui estoit tant obédient.* (viii. c. 7).

the papal service and was made Rector of the Roman Campagna.[1]

Thus vanished the Lombard states in Southern Italy. The tenacity of the race was marvellous; although its ancient language had perished under the influence of the Roman idiom, its blood still flowed in families who proudly traced their origin to Alboin's victorious followers. Until late in the twelfth century, we find the documents of Southern Italy filled with old Lombard names, such as Machenolf, Landolf, Pandolf, Adenolf, Gisulf, or as Marald, Castelmann, Romuald, Audoald, Musand, Ademar, Lidtus, Arechis, Radelgrim, Adelbert, Adelfar, Radelchis, Wiselgard, Roderic.[2] This German race, to which belongs the glory of forming an essential and noble ingredient of the Italian nation, maintained its individuality in Italy for five hundred years, protected by the code of laws which wise kings in barbarian times had bestowed on the Italians. This code only disappeared in the middle of the twelfth century. We have frequently remarked that throughout a course of centuries Lombards stood at the head

[1] Leo of Ostia, iii. 45. Romuald, A. 1075 (which is erroneous, as is also the chronology of the *Annal. Benev.*). Documents of May 1077 are still dated with the year of Gisulf's reign. (De Blasio, *Series Principum—Salerni*, App. n. viii.) The principality of Salerno began with Siconolf in 840, and ended with Gisulf on December 16, 1077. Amatus describes the Pope's reception of the fugitive: *lo rechut come amor de père et monstra à li Romain et toute manière de gent coment lui vouloit bien, et lo fist prince de toute les choses dell' Eglise* (viii. c. 30). De Blasio doubts Gisulf's rectorate, since this prince appears as Dux of Amalfi in 1088 (p. 117).

[2] See the numerous documents in De Blasio, in the *Monum. Regii Archiv. Neap.* and in Monte Casino.

of the spiritual and political life of Italy; and even in late times the Countess Matilda, Gregory VII., and Victor III. were all ornaments of the Lombard race.[1]

Robert determined to annex Benevento also, while Richard laid siege to Naples. The asylum accorded to Gisulf in Rome furnished a pretext, the death of Landulf VI., the last and childless prince and the feudal vassal of the Pope, afforded him the desired opportunity. He laid siege to the city at the end of the year 1077 and harassed by his expeditions the Roman territory, the March of Ancona and Spoleto. Benevento alone made a manful resistance. If Robert remained undaunted by Gregory's excommunication, papal policy caused the princes of Capua to waver.[2] Richard died before Naples in 1078, recon-

[1] Bacchini (*Istoria di S. Ben. di Polirone*, p. 5) calls the Lombard race *il sangue più nobile dell' Italia, il Seminario delle case più illustri quindi originate*. Laurentius Valla, speaking of the Goths and Vandals (Lombards) in Italy, said, *plurimi forsan ex illis oriundi sumus* (*Elegant.*, lib. iii. præf.). Concerning the survival of Lombard families in the kingdom of Naples, see Giannone, x. c. 3. Four of these Lombard colonies still exist in Sicily, which were planted there by Robert and Roger: Piazza, Nicosia, S. Fratello, and Aidone. Their dialect, which still remains peculiar, is called *parduoma à dumbard* (Lombard). Lionardo Vigo, *Canti Popolari Siciliani*, Catania, 1857, p. 47.

[2] March Synod of 1078: *Excommunicamus omnes Northmannos, qui invadere terram s. Petri laborant, vid. Marchiam Firmanam, Ducatum Spoletanum, et eos qui Beneventum obsident, et qui invadere nituntur Campaniam, et Maritima, atque Sabinos, nec non et qui tentant Urbem Romanam confundere.* In a similar manner at the March Synod of 1080, where the *comitatus tiburtinus* is also added. (Pandulf Pisanus, p. 310.) Gregory anathematised innumerable persons: *non solum spiritu, verum etiam in corpore, et omni prosperitate hujus vitæ apostolica potestate innodamus*, as the formula ran. An excommunicated person spread infection; women, children, slaves,

Jordan of Capua becomes vassal of the Pope.

ciled to the Church. His son Jordan conceived the idea, first suggested to him by the Pope, that Robert's successes would be his ruin. He raised the siege of Naples, tendered the oath of vassalage in Rome, allied himself with the Beneventans, destroyed Robert's camp, excited the barons of Apulia and Calabria to rebellion and thereby compelled Guiscard to a reconciliation with the Pope. Gregory showed himself indulgent, requiring, as he did, the protection of the Normans against Henry, with whom he had publicly quarrelled for the second time, and who was already preparing for a warlike descent on Italy. That the Pope enticed the dreaded Norman hero by the prospect of the imperial crown is probably nothing more than a fable; nevertheless, he offered him substantial advantages. Robert Guiscard, who had taken the oath of fidelity in person at Ceprano on the Liris on June 29, 1080, relinquished the siege of Benevento, and Benevento now permanently became a papal possession. Gregory, however, did not press for the restoration of Gisulf's conquests; on the contrary, he left Salerno and Amalfi, even a portion of the March of Fermo (possessions of S. Peter) for a time in the power of the conqueror, whom he then invested with Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. The duke pledged himself in return to pay a yearly tribute and to protect the Church, as he had formerly promised Nicholas II.[1]

Robert Guiscard tenders the oath of vassalage to the Pope, June 29, 1080.

servants were nevertheless excepted, and pilgrims were permitted to buy the necessaries of life in the territory under excommunication.

[1] The oath itself is dated June 29 (in Albinus, Cencius, in Mansi, xx. 313): *Ego R., Dei gr. et s. Petri, Apuliæ et Calabriæ, et Siciliæ*

The pride of the Norman was tempered by prudence, and seemed to be directed to the conquest of Greece; he accepted the papal investiture "by the grace of God and S. Peter," and henceforward, for more than six hundred years, the kings of the two Sicilies were obliged to acknowledge themselves vassals of the sacred chair. Gregory demanded a like profession of vassalage from the King of England, William the Conqueror, who had gained possession of Britain at the same time as other members of his race had vanquished South Italy. The game which the popes had played successfully in Italy, they hoped to play in England also, where the Norman robbers were to conquer lands in order to hold them as fiefs from Rome. William had invaded England with the papal authorisation, the banner of S. Peter in his hand, and the Roman Curia in consequence claimed supremacy over the island. The King, however, laughed at Gregory's pretensions and rejected them in a laconic letter.[1]

Dux, ab hac hora et deinceps ero fidelis S. R. E. et Ap. Sedi . . . actum Ciprani III. Kal. Julii. And the investiture: *Ego G. Papa investio te, Roberte Dux, de terra quam tibi concesserunt antecessores mei sanct. mem. Nicolaus et Alexander. De illa autem terra, quam injuste tenes, sicut est Salernus, et Amalphia, et pars marchiæ Firmanæ, nunc te patienter sustineo.* Robert promised a tax of twelve denarii for every pair of oxen in his kingdom.

[1] The royal spirit is evident even in the superscription: *Excellentiss. S. E. Pastori Gregorio, grat. Dei Anglor. Rex. et Dux Northmannor. Willelmus salutem cum amicitia.* At the close: *fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo: quia nec ego promisi nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.* How the self-interest of the popes treated the legitimacy of the Anglo-Saxon kings, is shown by Thierry, *Hist. de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, ii. 279 *seq.* (4th edit.).

Meanwhile the Pope had been forced to a decision with regard to Henry, who already in November 1077 had for the second time banished Bernhard the cardinal legate in Germany. The indignant Saxons had besought the Pope finally to recognise Rudolf, finally to repudiate Henry. The Pope yielded at the Roman Synod in March 1080. He declared Henry to have forfeited the German kingdom and Italy; like a sorcerer he cursed his arms, solemnly recognised Rudolf as King, and invoked the apostles Peter and Paul to show the world that they possessed the power to bind and to loose not in heaven alone, but to give and to take away kingdoms, principalities, countships, and possessions of every kind on the earth also. Gregory's mind is in this instance already darkened by extravagant passion.[1]

Gregory VII. recognises the anti-king Rudolf, 1080.

The effect of this second excommunication was no longer like that of the first, for Henry stood in arms, a prince experienced in war, while the whole of North Italy rose on his side. He assembled nineteen bishops of his party at Mainz on May 31, where the Pope was declared deposed a second time.[2] The same proceedings were thus repeated on each side, but Henry in addition and with justice advanced another step. On June 25, 1080, he caused Wibert of Ravenna to be elected Pope at Brixen by several

Henry IV. puts forward Wibert as anti-pope, June 25, 1080.

[1] Stenzel, i. 431; Giesebrecht, iii. 480. For the second excommunication against Henry, see P. Bernried, c. 107, and Hugo Flavin., *Chron.*, ii. 451. Mansi. xx. 534. The inscription on the crown sent to Rudolf (*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulfo*) is known to Siegbert, *ad A.* 1077.

[2] The letter of rejection sent to the Pope by the assembly at Mainz is given in *Cod. Udalrici*, n. 162.

Italian bishops. His war against Gregory consequently assumed an ecclesiastical character. As the Pope harassed him by means of a rival king in Germany, so Henry now brought a rival pope into the field. Ravenna, however, was a territory which bestowed a great importance on an anti-pope. Since the tenth century the Patriarchs of Ravenna, the ancient adversaries of the popes, had attained a princely degree of splendour; the Exarchate, the oldest province of the Carolingian ecclesiastical State, had in the course of time been completely severed from Rome, and had become a possession of the Archbishop of Ravenna, who invested the counts in the isolated towns as vassals of his own. These vassals soon became hereditary, while the archbishops themselves held the ancient property of the popes, not from the popes but from the emperors.

So ancient an enemy, and one so intimately versed in all political affairs as Wibert, must necessarily appear as anti-pope on the scene of action. He was more dangerous than Cadalus could be. Distinguished by illustrious birth, learning, and statesman-like insight, in his ambition he had long aimed at the tiara, which he hoped to wrest from Gregory; he had now the title of pope, but must perforce obtain consecration and power from distant S. Peter's.[1] He went immediately from Brixen to

[1] Concerning Wibert's election, *Vita Anselmi Ep. Lucensis*, c. 19 (*Mon. Germ.*, xiv.), taken almost word for word from Bonizo, p. 817. Wido Ferrar. praises him as being thoroughly noble. Even Donizo calls him *doctus*, *sapiens et nobilis ortus*. The decree of deposition pronounced at Brixen (*Cod. Udal.*, i. 164) repeats the childish charges against Gregory of sorcery and the murder of his predecessor. Henry

Lombardy, and the King, who intended to set forth on his Roman expedition in the coming year, turned against the Saxons. He was defeated in the bloody battle on the Elster in October, but was at the same time freed from his rival. Rudolf fell; the winter passed away, and the spring saw Henry cross the Alps with an army to punish the enemy in Rome.[1]

The turning point in the history of both Henry and Gregory had now arrived. The tide on which the courageous Pope had hitherto been borne was followed by the ebb of fortune, his long distress in Rome, his fall and his death in exile. But the marvellous genius of the man shines, not at its strongest, but perhaps at its clearest, in the period of decline, until his star sinks, solitary and splendid, below the horizon of history into the sea of time.

adored Wibert after the election, and Cardinal Baronius maliciously says on the subject: "*adoratur bestia.*"

[1] Rudolf, as he died, raised his maimed arm and exclaimed: *ecce hæc est manus, qua domino meo Heinrico fidem sacramento firmavi* (Ekkehard, *Chron. A.* 1080). The hideous black skeleton of the hand which was cut off is shown in the cathedral of Merseburg.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Henry IV. advances against Rome (1081)—First Siege of the City—Second Siege in the Spring of 1082—He retires to Farfa—He marches to Tivoli, where Clement III. takes up his abode—He lays waste the Property of the great Countess.

The city of Rome became the theatre of the struggle — prolonged for years — between the two bitter antagonists, the Emperor and the Pope. In this struggle the city herself was almost annihilated, and sank into decay so utter that it constitutes an epoch in her history. This memorable war around Rome was not rendered conspicuous, as earlier wars of the kind had been, by heroic deeds. The means and the forces called into action were insignificant; nevertheless the importance of the struggle, the fate of the besiegers, and the moral greatness of the besieged invest it with an unusual attraction. Henry IV., Gregory VII., Robert Guiscard, the great Countess are the heroes of the tragedy.

After the summer of 1080 Wibert remained in Ravenna, where he collected troops, while Gregory exerted himself to bring about a crusade against him. The Normans, however, deserted the Pope. Although Guiscard refused to enter into alliance

The Normans desert Gregory VII.

with Henry, he failed to obey the exhortations of the Pope. He was preparing for an expedition against Greece, whither he desired to convey a Byzantine impostor in the guise of the dethroned Michael Ducas. The Pope, forced by necessity, acquiesced in his design, although it deprived him of Norman aid precisely at this juncture. And since Jordan of Capua had veered to Henry's side, Gregory could only rely on the protection of Matilda.

He nevertheless beheld the advance of his enemies with the courage of a Belisarius, whose example behind the ancient walls of the city he determined to emulate. After the fall of the rival king, he was urged to make peace with Henry; he was told that he had nothing to hope from Germany, that the vassals of the Countess looked on her resistance as madness; he did not yield. He summoned the Germans to elect a new king, but reminded them that this king must be an obedient vassal of the Church.

Henry came in the spring of 1081. The fatherland which he left was not yet reduced to submission; his adherents, however, were sufficiently strong to hold their own against the Roman party. Three terrible years of struggle with the weapons of the warrior as well as with those of the politician had made a man of this gifted prince; he now came to avenge the disgrace of Canossa, to obtain the imperial crown and to make the Papacy again serviceable to the empire. Three more years of fierce warfare were required to attain his objects, nor did he ever succeed in accomplishing his final aim,

since the Papacy, which Gregory's genius had emancipated from the imperial power, never again fell beneath the yoke.

He hoped to strengthen his army in Ravenna and to win Guiscard to his side, but in this he was unsuccessful. The crafty duke, deaf to Gregory's entreaties also, sailed for Durazzo after Easter 1081. Henry, however, took the Italian crown, caused the Lombard Wibert to be recognised as Clement III. at a Council at Pavia, and finally advanced, without opposition from the margravine, to Rome.

Henry IV. encamps before Rome, May 1081.

When Henry pitched his camp on the Field of Nero on May 22 Gregory had cause to bless the wisdom of his predecessors who had fortified the Leonine city.[1] Normans, Tuscans, the civic militia defended its walls; moreover, the royal party in Rome was weak, or devoid of a leader. Since the time of Totila, Rome had suffered no siege so protracted as that which Henry now undertook; his means, however, were scanty, and his first attack made no impression. He assembled the Romans of the former factions of Cadalus and Benzo in his camp; some landgraves, more especially the Tusculans, rallied to his side; he created an opposition senate or Curia, appointed palace officials, and nominated new judges and a new prefect. This step was judicious, since it strengthened his party. But the city remained faithful to Gregory and refused the King's proposals.[2]

[1] Bonizo, *ad Am.*, p. 818. Henry issued a proclamation to the Romans, printed in Giesebrecht, iii. n. 14, in the appendix.

[2] *Fecit novam Romam ex tentoriis*, says Benzo, who reappears (lib. vi.) . . . *creavit novos centuriones, tribunos ac senatores præfectum et*

The papal party might smile at the Whitsuntide processions which Henry, the crown upon his head, held within his camp; he and his pope gazed hopelessly towards S. Peter's, where both the crowns with which each desired to invest the other lay shut up. After forty days Henry broke up his camp and retired to Tuscany. The powerless enemy had merely shown his opponent the sword, nothing more.

The flourishing cities of Pisa, Lucca, and Siena hastened to renounce the government of the margravine and to strengthen their civic freedom by imperial diplomas. Florence alone withstood Henry's attacks. In Ravenna, where he spent the winter, he received messengers from the Emperor Alexius, who, driven to extremities by Guiscard, sought by large sums of money to gain Henry's speedy assistance.[1] Henry formed an alliance with the Emperor; the Byzantine subsidies arrived opportunely, since Rome was apparently more vulnerable to gold than to the sword. But neither did fortune smile upon the King in the spring of 1082. The papal party remained firm in the Leonina; no use was made of a breach; a fire, treacherously kindled in S. Peter's, was quickly extinguished. Henry was again forced to retire to the Campagna; he passed behind Soracte,

He again encamps before Rome, 1082.

nomenclatorem, aliasq. dignitates, secundum antiquum morem. No document indicates centurions or tribunes; they are merely a phrase of Benzo. Henry dated a privilegium for Lucca from Rome on January 23, 1081 (Ficker, *Urk. z. Reichs- und Rechtsgesch. Ital.*, n. 81).

[1] Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius and Irene, gives her father's letter to Henry (*Alexiad*, iii. 93).

there crossed the Tiber with great difficulty, and halted at Farfa on March 17.

This abbey, which stood in immediate dependence on the empire, served him as an excellent point of support in the Sabina. The monks, at constant strife with the Crescentii of the family of Octavian, from whose son Crescentius (the child of his marriage with Rogata) John, Guido, Cencius and Rusticus were descended, were hostile to the Papacy, since the popes endeavoured to suppress the ancient liberties granted by charters to the monastery. The Abbot Berard remained faithful to Henry; with sincere joy he celebrated the arrival of his overlord and aided him with money and provisions.[1]

He advances to the Sabina.

Henry's expedition to the Sabina was intended to defend him from the margravine on that side, and to bring him nearer to Latium, where the Tusculans guarded the Via Latina. He occupied Tivoli, since the anti-pope was here to establish his abode, in order that he might lay siege to Rome, and at the same time might foment the rebellion in the neighbouring Norman territory. Robert's enemies profited by his absence to incite his Italian provinces to revolt. The Lombards here languished under the yoke of their Norman oppressors in the same miserable condition as the Anglo-Saxons languished under the tyranny of William the Conqueror. They fixed

[1] The deeds in the *Reg. Farf.* are not dated with the year of Gregory's reign after 1080; occasionally: *regnante Henrico rege.* Henry later issued a most complete diploma in favour of Farfa, *datum A. MLXXXIV.*; *Chron. Farf.*, p. 607. The ceremonies for the reception of an emperor are specified in the *Ordo Farf.* (*Cod. Vat.*, 6808).

their hopes on Henry; he took the Greek gold, but nevertheless only advanced as far as Tivoli. The Byzantine Emperor desired nothing more ardently than to induce his royal ally to undertake a warlike expedition to Apulia, so that he might rid himself of Robert Guiscard. The King, on the other hand, longed for the duke's removal to Greece. The two allies sought to make use of one another as lightning conductors; consequently nothing was done on Henry's side. Meanwhile the rebellion in Apulia, zealously fanned by Jordan of Capua, assumed vast proportions, and Guiscard was forced to return. He made over the Greek war to his heroic son Bœmund, himself hastened to Apulia, and succeeded, although only after tedious exertions, in suppressing the revolt.

Henry IV. in Lombardy.

Henry marched into Lombardy after Easter. Fate condemned him to a life-long struggle with a priest and an Amazon. For in Upper Italy it was again Matilda who forced him into a petty war of great difficulty in the Apennines and on the Po, where she owned a number of fortresses. But even here the war came to no decisive end. Towns were depopulated, churches were burned. Fanaticism found vent in the fury of religious war. A chronicler of the time was able to compare the palace of the great countess to a haven for the catholic world, into which priests, monks, exiles of every class fled before the sword of the King; and Matilda's patrimony (she laid claim to half of Italy) was sufficient to relieve Gregory's necessities.[1]

[1] Donizo, *Vita Math.*, ii. v. 268 *seq.*, and v. 300.

2. HENRY IV. BESIEGES ROME FOR THE THIRD TIME (1082–1083)—CAPTURE OF THE LEONINE CITY—GREGORY VII. IN S. ANGELO—HENRY NEGOTIATES WITH THE ROMANS—FIRMNESS OF THE POPE—JORDAN OF CAPUA DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING—DESIDERIUS EFFECTS A PEACE—HENRY'S TREATY WITH THE ROMANS—HIS RETREAT TO TUSCANY—FAILURE OF GREGORY'S NOVEMBER SYNOD — THE ROMANS BREAK THEIR OATH TO THE KING.

Henry IV. besieges Rome for the third time, at the end of 1082.

It is wearisome to follow Henry's marches and counter-marches. At the end of the year 1082 he stood for the third time before Rome, as obstinate in his attack as his harassed enemy in his resistance.

He found the state of affairs unaltered, since Clement III., his general as well as his Pope, though he had undoubtedly terrified the city during the summer by attacks from Tivoli and laid waste the Campagna, had effected nothing. The King again encamped on the Field of Nero and his patience was again put to the test during seven weary months.[1] Nothing perhaps more conspicuously illustrates Gregory's power over mankind, than the devotion displayed for him by the Romans during this three years' siege, in spite of the fact that he was their Pope and territorial ruler.

The impatient enemy now attacked the Vatican and the fortress beside S. Paul's, but the attack

[1] *H. rex—Romam tendens, castra posuit ubi et prius, ad occident. partem castelli s. Petri.* Ekkeh., *Chron. ad A.* 1083.

failed. Meanwhile the distress became so utterly insupportable, that Gregory only succeeded in averting the defection of Rome by means of gold, sent him by Guiscard instead of relief. Weariness on the part of the guards at length surrendered the Leonina into the hands of the King. The Milanese vassals of Tedald, and Saxons under Wigbert of Thuringia, climbed the walls, slew the guards and obtained possession of a tower.[1] Henry's troops rushed with joy through the broken walls into the Leonine city; it was said that Godfrey of Bouillon was the first to enter (June 2, 1083). A furious struggle was now waged round S. Peter's; the Gregorians sought shelter in the basilica; the Germans forced an entrance, and the sacred temple became the scene of deadly slaughter. The Romans still held the portico; the victors attacked it the following day. Breathing vengeance, they searched for Gregory; to effect his capture would be the triumph of the day, the end of the whole war. The Pope, however, had escaped under the protection of Pierleone to S. Angelo.[2]

He conquers the Leonina, June 2, 1083.

[1] Landulf, *Hist. Mediol.*, iv. 2, who says Henry made his dwelling *in palatio Cæsariano, i.e.*, beside S. Peter's.

[2] Ekkehard, *Chron. ad A.* 1083: *captaque est urbs* 4 *non. Junii, feria* 6 *ante octavam pentecostes. Annal. Benevent.: cepit porticum s. Petri* 3 *die m. Junii. Annal. Cavenses; Chron. of M. Casino.* Benzo (vi. 6) rejoices over Gregory's flight, and calls the Pope *Stercutius* and *Stercorentius*:—

Devolavit moriturus ad Crescentis iugulum,
Quod indigene appellant Adriani tumulum.

After the fall of the Leonina, Henry dated a document to Liemar of Bremen: *X. Kal. Julii ann. D. Incarn. MLXXXIII. Ind. V.*

Thus after tedious exertions Henry entered S. Peter's, aware that his terrible enemy was shut up within the adjacent fortress. From the battlements of this fortress Gregory perhaps looked down on the penitent of Canossa, who, surrounded by knights, bishops, and Roman nobles, and with the anti-pope at his side, made his triumphant progress amid smoking ruins to the cathedral. The strains of the Te Deum gladdened Henry's soul; the revenge was sweet, yet it only half contented him. His Pope (a puppet, whom he might drop at any moment) was not consecrated, nor had the imperial crown been placed on his own head. He might have taken this crown in S. Peter's, but prudence forbade the step. The consent of the still unconquered city was necessary; he negotiated with it; and he hoped, moreover, to compel Gregory himself to perform the coronation and to make an advantageous peace.

With the Leonina the King possessed the key to the city, in which his victory had made a profound impression. The interminable siege, the immediate prospect of famine, Henry's threatened anger terrified the people; all the entrances were garrisoned; no one ventured either in or out. The compromise which Henry offered seemed acceptable; and while he cunningly endeavoured to win the Romans from their

ann. autem ordinat. D. Heinrici IV. Regis XXIX. regni XXVII. actum Romæ post urbem captam, feliciter. In Lindenbrog, *Scriptor. Rer. Germ.*, i. 144. The expression *urbem captam* is certainly inappropriate. A document for Farfa: *XVII. Kal. Jun. A.D. Inc. MLXXXIII. Ind. V. A. aut. ordin. D. H. IV. regis XXVIIII. Regni XXVII. actum rome feliciter*, in the *Cod. Farf.*, n. 1099.

allegiance to the Pope, he told them that he would take the crown from Gregory's hands; that he would be reconciled with the Pope, and that it was their duty to aid him in this object. He also told them that a Synod would definitely decide the pending dispute. With unmoved calm Gregory resisted the urgent entreaties of the Romans, even the prayers of his most faithful adherents among the clergy, who on their knees implored him in his hopeless position to make terms with the King and to set his country at liberty. Neither fear of man nor the caprice of fortune moved his spirit. This wonderful man bid defiance to fate as heroically in the Mausoleum of Hadrian as in the tower of Cencius. He would acknowledge Henry neither as King nor as Emperor; he refused to be coerced. He insisted on submission to his commands in conformity with the treaty of Canossa; he proposed to convoke a general Synod in November.

The Romans in the city, Henry in the Leonina, Gregory in S. Angelo, formed three distinct camps; while weapons rested, negotiations were actively carried on. Ambassadors also came from the Emperor Alexius to summon Henry to undertake his promised expedition to Apulia, and the time seemed sufficiently favourable.[1] Jordan of Capua, who resisted Robert Guiscard (who had now returned home) with courage and success, hoped to overcome his rival and to seize the ducal throne of Apulia. And since the fall of Rome seemed certain he

[1] Anna Comnena, v. 130. The Greeks still called South Italy ἡ Λογγιβαρδία.

hastened to do homage to the King. He urged the Abbot of Monte Casino to accompany him, to negotiate a peace between the King and the Pope. Henry himself desired a peace, and Desiderius hesitatingly obeyed his repeated invitation. Setting forth with the Prince of Capua, he presented himself before the excommunicated King in Albano. Here Jordan did homage, paid a heavy tribute and received Capua as a fief of the empire, although the courageous abbot protested that not until Henry had been crowned Emperor could Jordan receive investiture at his hands. The King yielded to Jordan's entreaties, and by a golden seal graciously confirmed Desiderius in possession of his splendid monastery. The grateful, but obstinate, abbot longed to escape from the pit of heretics, but he was obliged daily to associate with them and even to discuss the burning questions of the time with Wibert, "the Antichrist." Gregory, who ought to have excommunicated his friend, as a person infected by contact with those under the ban, was obliged to set aside the law.

Treaty between the Romans and Henry IV.

The envoys of the Romans, of the Pope, and of Henry held negotiations in S. Maria in Pallara on the Palatine. They swore to a treaty, according to the terms of which the Pope was to summon a Synod to decide on the King's cause in November, and Henry promised by oath that he would not prevent the attendance of any bishop.[1] In a secret article, however, the Romans pledged themselves

[1] Bernold and Ekkehard, *ad A.* 1083. For the place and the papal agents, see the note to "Hugonis Chron.," *Mon. Germ.*, x. 460.

to aid him in obtaining his coronation within a given time, in case of Gregory's flight or death. In the latter alternative, a newly elected pope was to crown him, and the Roman people were to take the oath of fidelity.

Henry IV. withdraws.

Glad to hold the Romans by a chain, Henry now advanced with their hostages to Tuscany; he had caused a part of the Leonine walls to be thrown down, and had only placed 400 horsemen under Ulrich of Godesheim in a fort erected on the hill Palatiolus within the Leonina.[1] The margravine still remained in arms in behalf of Gregory in Tuscany. The entreaties of her own bishops, the representations of the Countess Adelaide, and the cries of her devastated cities urged her to submission, since the fall of the Pope was inevitable. She wavered for a moment, then rejected every compromise. This courageous woman determined not to blush before her great friend, who, surrounded by enemies and traitors, faced his fate in S. Angelo. Her inability to effect his release was a cause of bitter grief to Matilda. It was with difficulty that she resisted Henry's attacks, and she was satisfied when she saw him, after a destructive progress through her territories, return to the Roman Campagna as the date of the Synod approached.

To this Synod Gregory had invited all the bishops not included in the excommunication, explaining in

[1] Bernold: *juxta s. Petrum quendam monticulum nomine Palaceolum incastellavit.* The Bull of Leo IX. of March 20, 1053, mentions the Palaciolus beside the "*Burgura Frisonor. et Saxonor.*" *Bullar. Vat.*, i. 25.

his encyclicals that he would unmask the actual promoters of the disastrous dispute, and would refute the accusations brought against him, and that he hoped to make peace with the empire. He called God to witness that King Rudolf had been elected against his desire, that since Henry had broken the treaty of Canossa he was responsible for all the disasters.[1] The Pope could not invite any bishops to a Council but such as were exempt from excommunication, and by these bishops (necessarily members of the Gregorian party) the King could not submit to be judged without surrendering his cause as lost beforehand. Recognising the object of the Pope, he broke the treaty; he prevented the bishops, more especially Gregory's most zealous supporters, Hugh of Lyons, Anselm of Lucca, Reginald of Como, from journeying to Rome. He also caused the ambassadors of the rival King of the Germans to be arrested, and imprisoned Cardinal Otto of Ostia, who had been sent as Gregory's nuncio to Rudolf.

The November Council was but scantily attended, and consequently failed in its object. So great was Gregory's indignation that he could scarcely refrain from excommunicating Henry afresh; he, however, pronounced the anathema upon everyone who had prevented the bishops from coming to Rome.

As Henry again approached the city towards

[1] *Greg. Ep. Serv. Servor. Dei clericis et laicis qui non tenentur excommunicatione. . . . Reg.*, ix. 28, viii. 51 in Jaffé, erroneously attributed to the year 1082 by Baronius. Bernold, *ad A.* 1083, says: *Papa omnes religiosos Episcopos et Abbates ad synodum literis suis vocavit.*

Christmas 1083, his cause appeared to stand in evil case. Fever had swept away the garrison on Palatiolus, the Romans had themselves destroyed the fortifications. The date fixed for the coronation of the King, who retained their hostages, was near, and they consequently found themselves compelled to reveal the secret compact to the Pope. They excused themselves with the falsehood that they had promised the King not that he should be solemnly consecrated by Gregory, but merely that the Pope would give him the crown. But was it possible that a man so earnest as Gregory could acquiesce in the farce which they devised? Henry himself rejected the suggestion, either to take the crown as the submissive servant of the Pope, or to permit it to be handed to him on a wand from the battlements of S. Angelo.[1] The treaties were thus broken, and the King was able to explain to the Romans that the blame of continuing the war rested not on him, who was inclined for peace, but on the stiff-necked Pope and the treacherous nobles.

The Romans violate the treaty with Henry.

[1] Bernold: *Unde Romani mandaverunt Heinrico, ut veniret ad accipiendum coronam cum justitia, si vellet; sin autem, de castello s. Angeli per virgam sibi dimissam a papa reciperet.*

3. HENRY'S RETREAT TO CAMPANIA — THE ROMANS DESERT GREGORY — THEY SURRENDER THE CITY (1084)—GREGORY SHUTS HIMSELF UP IN S. ANGELO —HE IS DEPOSED BY A ROMAN PARLIAMENT, AND CLEMENT III. IS RAISED IN HIS STEAD—HENRY IV. IS CROWNED BY THE ANTI-POPE—THE EMPEROR TAKES THE SEPTIZONIUM AND THE CAPITOL BY STORM—THE ROMANS BESIEGE THE POPE IN S. ANGELO—GREGORY'S DISTRESS—THE DUKE OF THE NORMANS COMES TO HIS RELIEF—HENRY'S RETREAT —ROBERT GUISCARD TAKES ROME — TERRIBLE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY.

Had Henry been able to scatter gold with a more liberal hand he would soon have won the city, gold being alone required to draw the people back to his side. He ravished the Campagna in the spring of 1084, and then started on an expedition to Apulia. But scarcely had he departed when Roman envoys invited him to take possession of the city, which had renounced Gregory and anxiously desired his coronation and the elevation of Clement III. This sudden change was due less to the nobles than to the populace, who longed to put an end to their troubles, and already began to assume a greater independence towards their captains.[1] The Romans had long

[1] Bernhold, *ad A.* 1084 : *H. acceptam pecuniam ad conciliand. sibi vulgus Roman. expendit, cujus adjutorio Lateran. palatium feria V. ante palmas cum suo Ravennate Guiberto intravit.* Only a few of the nobles had deserted Gregory ; all the rest had given him forty hostages. *Vita Anselmi Luc. Ep.*, c. 22 : *permanserunt quoque nec corrupti nec decepti aut devicti nobiliores quidam Romani. Annal. Perchen.* (*M. Germ.*, xvi.) : *R. Urbis Senatus et pop. cum tota fere R. æcclesia*

fought bravely for the Pope; they were now tired of sacrificing themselves for his aims, which did not accord with their own advantage. Their defection, which rendered his fall inevitable, was a heavy blow to Gregory. Nevertheless the indomitable spirit of the Pope remained even now unshaken. A Norman monk, a contemporary, who would not perceive the horrors which Guiscard soon after committed in Rome, ventured to lavish his reproaches on the heads of the fickle, avaricious Romans—victims of the Pope and Emperor. The monk, nevertheless, was as little of a slanderer as was Jugurtha in ancient days. "Rome," cries Gaufried, "thou decayest in thy despicable cunning; no one fears thee; thou offerest thy neck to every scourge. Thy weapons are blunted, thy laws are falsified. Thou art full of lies, of trickery and of avarice. No faith, no chastity, nothing but simoniacal pestilence is found within thee. With thee all is venal. Instead of one Pope thou must have two. Does one give? thou drivest the other away; does one cease to give? thou callest the other back. Thou threatenest one with the other and so thou fillest thy wallet. Once the source of all virtues, now the pit of all disgrace. No noble customs dwell any longer in thee, but with unabashed forehead thou prosecutest the vile arts of gain."[1]

The Romans renounce Gregory's cause.

Imperatori ejusq. pontifici manus tradunt; which is exaggerated, as is also Ekkehard's: *papam unanimiter abdicarunt.* According to Ekkehard, *ad A.* 1084, the Roman messengers actually met Henry in Apulia, and Anna Comnena says: ἤδη τὴν Λογγιβαρδίαν ἠπείγετο.

[1] Gaufrid. Malaterra, *Hist. Sicula*, iii. c. 38:—

Roma quondam bellipotens toto orbe florida . . .
In te cuncta prava vigent, luxus, avaritia,

Henry returned by forced marches to Rome; on March 21, 1084, he made his entrance, as Totila in former days, by the gate of S. John, and with the anti-pope took up his abode in the Lateran. With him were his wife and several German and Italian bishops and nobles. How little he had hoped for his success is shown by his letter after his coronation to Bishop Dietrich of Verdun:—"On the day of S. Benedict we entered Rome; this fact seems a dream to me; I may say that God has effected for us with ten men what our ancestors could not have accomplished with ten thousand. Despairing of taking Rome, I was ready to return to Germany when Roman messengers recalled us to the city, which received us with rejoicings." [1]

Henry IV. enters Rome, March 21, 1084.

Gregory, who would have preferred death rather than humiliation before the King, sat in S. Angelo, protected by the shields and spears of a handful of resolute men; but all was not lost even now. A great number of the nobles still adhered to him; the most strongly fortified place in Rome remained in his power. His nephew Rusticus held the Cœlian and the Palatine; the family of the Corsi the Capitol; the Pierleoni were encamped on the island of the Tiber. Henry, however, now hastened, by a

Fides nulla, nullus ordo, pestis simoniaca
Gravat omnes fines suos, cuncta sunt venalia.

[1] The letter, which is without a date (*Gesta Treveror.*, *M. Germ.*, x. 815): *Romam in die S. Benedicti intravimus*—is written after having left Rome. Henry, however, is silent with regard to the entrance of the Normans. Stenzel wrongly places it in the year 1083. A valueless poem on the capture of Rome is given by Sudendorf (*Regist.*, i. 55, n. xvii.).

politic act, to overthrow the enemy in Rome itself; a parliament of the Romans, of the nobles, and of the bishops of his camp summoned Gregory, and, as he failed to appear, pronounced him deposed, and recognised Wibert as Pope in all due form. Clement III. was installed in the Lateran on Palm Sunday, and was consecrated by Lombard bishops, and on Easter Sunday (March 31), after a feeble resistance on the part of the Gregorians, he crowned Henry and his wife Bertha in S. Peter's. At the same time the Romans conferred the patrician authority on their new Emperor.[1] Emperor and Pope immediately ordered the ecclesiastical and secular government; they appointed a Lateran ministerium, a college of judges, and the prefect. Clement III. surrounded himself with an opposition senate of cardinals, and nominated afresh the seven bishops of the Lateran. Rome and the surrounding territory almost unanimously obeyed his commands, and judicial acts were henceforward dated with his pontificate.[2]

Clement III., installed as Pope, crowns Henry Emperor.

Henry now rapidly laid siege to the fortresses in Rome: they must soon yield, and S. Angelo must soon surrender its valuable spoils; for had not Otto III. also conquered this fortress? Gregory's nephew

Henry attacks the civic fortresses.

[1] Henry to the Bishop of Verdun: *nosque a papa Clemente ordinatum et consensu omnium Romanor. consecratum in die s. paschæ in imp. totius populi Romani exultatione. Chron. Siegberti: H. rex patricius Romanor. constituitur.*

[2] Thus immediately on April 29, 1084, *Reg. Farja*, n. 1098; later, a document from S. Maria in Campo Marzo of June 7, 1086. *A. II. Clementis III. Ind. IX., Mscr. Vat.*, 7931, p. 99. Hugo Candidus was appointed by Clement cardinal-bishop of Præneste.

made a desperate resistance in the Septizonium on the Palatine, which the monks of the convent of S. Gregory on the Clivus Scauri had transformed into the strongest fortress. Henry laid siege to it as to a fortified castle, for all the works of the ancient Romans were built on so vast a scale that even ornamental buildings put the fortresses of modern generations to shame by their strength. The splendid colonnades, resting one upon the other, were shattered by machines, and one of the finest monuments of Rome was half destroyed before Rusticus surrendered.[1] The Capitol was also besieged; here in forts lay supporters of Gregory, the Corsi, a family who may possibly have traced their descent from the Corsican colony of Leo IV.[2] Their palaces were destroyed and burned, and Henry was able to his satisfaction to make his temporary abode in the venerable Capitol.[3]

[1] *Septisolia in quibus Rusticus nepos prædicti Pontificis considebat, obsidere cum multis machinamentis obtentavit, de quibus quam plurimas columnas subvertit.* Pand. Pisan., p. 313. Concerning the Septizonium, see Hülsen, *Das Septiz. des Sep. Severus*, Berlin, 1886; Stevenson, "Il Settiz. Severiano" (*Bull. Com.*, 1888).

[2] *Rex Capitolium ascendit, domos omnes Corsorum subvertit.* Pand. Pisan. Some Roman families bore the names of nations, thus *Sassi*, *Franchi*, *Sarraceni*. Families of the name of Corsi are still found among the lower classes in Rome.

[3] Count Saxo of Civita Vecchia ceded the half of this city to Farfa on April 29, 1084. *A. D. prop. Pontif. D. Clementis s. Pont. et univ. Pp. I. Et imperante D. Heinrico a D. coronato summo Imp. ann. I. Imp. ejus m. April. d. XXIX. Ind. VII.* It was signed by the imperial palatine judges: *Ego Guillielmus judex s. Palatii. Ego Johannes judex Seniorictus jud. dom. Imps. Ego Britto jud. Caro Urbanæ causidicus prefecturæ. Ego Cencius urbis causidicus.* Of nobles: *Sign. manus Sarramcini a. s. Eustasio testis. Sign. m.*

The Romans besiege the Pope in S. Angelo.

Now to S. Angelo, which sheltered the Pope! The Romans themselves besieged the fortress, and surrounded it with walls, in order to starve it out, while Gregory's breathless messengers scoured Campania to throw themselves at the feet of Robert Guiscard, and beg for speedy relief. In the same fortress, where, ninety years earlier, a Roman had defended the freedom of the city against an emperor, another emperor now besieged a pope who defended the freedom of the Church against the temporal power. The tragic history of Hadrian's mausoleum, the times of Belisarius and Totila, of Alberic and of Marozia, of Crescentius, the memory of the popes who had been strangled within it, may have passed before Gregory's troubled spirit as he sat in the gloomy vaults of the fortress, round which raged the fury of both Germans and Romans. What would be his fate if he fell into Henry's hands? The avenger of the disgrace of Canossa would have dragged him across the Alps, as his father had formerly dragged Gregory VI.; and the greatest of all the popes would have ended his days a prisoner in some fortress of the Black Forest or on the Rhine. Gregory looked from the battlements of this mausoleum over the ruins of the Leonina and Rome; he allowed his glance to rove over the Tuscan plain, where the troops of his friend Matilda were nowhere to be descried. With painful expectation he turned his eyes towards the Latin Campagna, to discover

Carbonis de Gregorio Latro. Astaldi filius Astaldi. Gregorii Adulterini. Horrigeni a. s. Eustathio. Actum Civitate Romana apud Capitolium (*Reg. Farfa*, n. 1098).

whether the squadrons of the Norman duke were in sight; until at length he beheld their lances gleaming one day under Palestrina. Guiscard no sooner heard of the Pope's distress than he determined to hasten forward to relieve him, for Gregory's fall would have at once turned Henry's arms against himself, and would have produced a terrible coalition of his enemies. He started at the beginning of May with six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, which numbered among them the rapacious people of Calabria and the still more savage Saracens of Sicily.[1] Desiderius announced his approach not only to the Pope, but also to the Emperor; an ambiguous proceeding, and one which exposed him to severe censure, the abbot being accused of serving two masters — enemies of each other — from motives of prudence. Fortune had only an ironical smile for Henry: this Tantalus of the Middle Ages never enjoyed an unmixed success. He could neither advance to meet the most formidable warriors of the age, since his forces were insignificant, nor defend himself in Rome, for the Romans were fickle, and the Gregorians still retained their fortresses within the city. Since he was compelled to abandon Rome before he was himself besieged within it, he caused the towers on the Capitol and the walls of the Leonina to be pulled down, and, like Vitiges on the approach of Belisarius, he assembled a parliament of the Romans, and explained that the

Robert Guiscard advances to Gregory's relief.

[1] Landulf, *Hist. Med.*, iii. c. 33: *gente coadunata immensa et Saracenis omnibus, quos habere potuit.* Guill. Appulus (vi. 271) reckons 6000 horse and 30,000 infantry.

affairs of the empire demanded his presence in Lombardy, encouraged the dismayed people to resistance, gave hopes of his speedy return, and abandoned them to their fate. On May 21 he retreated, with Clement III., along the Flaminian Way as far as Civita Castellana, thence to proceed northwards.[1]

Henry IV. leaves Rome, May 21, 1084.

While Henry was retiring, Guiscard's horse had already reached the Lateran Gate. The Norman had come by forced marches along the Latin Way through the valley of the Sacco; he appeared before Rome on May 24, three days after the retreat of the Emperor. First pitching his camp near the Aqua Martia, he cautiously remained there for three days, uncertain whether Henry had only deceived him by his departure, in order suddenly to attack him in the rear.[2] The Romans kept the city barricaded. Their manly resistance against Guiscard honourably fills a

[1] Card. Arag., p. 313: *domo Capitolina, et Leoniana civitate destructa aufugit;* so also the later chroniclers, who all drew from Bonizo. P. Bernried says nothing concerning Henry's struggles for Rome, nothing about Matilda, or Guiscard, and he was Gregory's biographer! P. Diacon. (iii. c. 53) says that Henry went to Civita Castellana. *Chron. de Rob. Viscart*, ii. c. 6.: *et puiz que li empéreor de Rome sot sanz doute que venoit lo duc, pour la fausseté de li Romain, qui jamaiz non sont ferme à lor signor—se parti de Rome.* The date of the retreat is given by *Annal. Cavenses* and *Chron. Fossæ N.*, one of which copies from the other: *H. rex a Romanis intromissus Romam* 12 *Kal. Aprilis, et stetit usque* 12 *Kal. Junii. Et venit Robertus dux.* A document for the cathedral of Pisa is dated from Sutri on May 23. Böhmer, n. 1908.

[2] Malaterra, iii. c. 37: *ante portam qua via Tusculana porrigitur, iuxta aquæductum castra metatur, ubi triduo commoratur.* Wido Ferrar., c. 20: *castra metatus foris muros urbis prope Lateranense palatium in loco qui dicitur ad Arcus.*

short chapter in their mediæval history. Their distress deserved genuine compassion ; their Emperor, to whom they had surrendered the city, had abandoned them, and after the sufferings of a three years' siege, the unhappy city found herself exposed to the avarice of the Normans and Saracens who had been summoned by the Pope. Robert held negotiations with traitors and Gregorians within the walls, headed by the Consul Cencius Frangipane.[1] In the dawn of May 28, his knights scaled the gate of S. Lorenzo, and having entered, hastened to the Porta Flaminia and broke it open. The army, which there stood ready, thus made its way into the city. The Romans, it is true, threw themselves against the Normans, but the duke finally drove them through the flames of the Field of Mars over the bridge to the other side of the Tiber, released the Pope from S. Angelo, and led him to the Lateran.[2]

Robert Guiscard takes Rome by storm, May 28, 1084.

He releases the Pope.

The capture of Rome, a glory which adorns but few heroes, shines in the history of this great soldier prince, to whom fortune was more constant than to Pompey or to Cæsar. He had defeated the army of the Emperor of the East in Albania, had put to flight the Emperor of the West, and he now replaced

[1] According to a tradition in Joh. Caballini de Cerronibus, *Polistoria* (Urlich's *Cod. urb. Romæ Topographicus*, p. 142), who wrote at the time of Cola di Rienzo, Guiscard entered by the Flaminia *corruptis per eum nonnullis civit. Rom. de genere Buchapedum.*

[2] Montfaucon (*Diar. It.*, p. 336) gives the gloss of a Cod. of Grotta Ferrata : *ann. Christi* 1084 *Ind. VII. m. Maji* 29 *Feria III. hora III., ingressus Dux Romam, ipsam depopulavit.* On the other hand a marginal gloss in the Papal Chronicle of Cencius (*Cod. Riccardian.*, fol. lvii.) has : *Normanni intraverunt Romam m. Madii d. XXVIII.*, which agrees better with Gaufried.

the greatest of popes on the throne of Christendom. Gregory VII., standing beside his preserver Guiscard, presents a spectacle so remarkable as seldom to be met with in history. As the Pope gratefully clasped the hero of Palermo and Durazzo in his arms, he may have remembered Leo IX., and, Guiscard himself may possibly have surveyed with astonishment the altered aspect of affairs, and, while he now saved a pope from the hands of his ruthless enemies, may have called to mind the battlefield of Civita, where he had knelt before another pope who was his prisoner.

Sack of Rome by the Normans.

The unhappy city, however, which was surrendered to his soldiers for plunder, became the scene of more than Vandal horrors. The Romans rose on the third day, and with furious indignation attacked the barbarous conquerors. The imperial party, which had reassembled, hoped by a desperate onslaught to rid themselves of their oppressors ; the young Roger hurried from the camp with a thousand men at arms to the aid of his father, now reduced to the direst straits. The city fought valiantly but in vain ; the despair of the people was stifled in blood and flames, for, in order to save himself, Robert had set fire to a portion of the city. When both flames and the tumult of battle had subsided, Rome lay a heap of smoking ashes before Gregory's eyes ; burnt churches, streets in ruins, the dead bodies of Romans formed a thousand accusers against him. The Pope must have averted his eyes, as the Romans, bound with cords, were led in troops into their camp by Saracens. Noble women, men calling themselves senators,

Burning of Rome.

children and youths were openly sold like cattle into slavery: others, and among them the imperial Prefect, were carried as prisoners of state to Calabria.[1]

Goths and Vandals, nevertheless, had been more fortunate than were the Normans, since Goths and Vandals had found Rome filled with inexhaustible wealth, while the plunder of the Moslems in the service of the duke could no longer have been comparable to that which their predecessors had ravished from S. Peter's two hundred and thirty years before. The city was now terribly impoverished, and even the churches were devoid of ornament. Mutilated statues stood in the ruinous streets or lay in the dust amid the relics of baths and temples. Hideous images of saints remained here and there in the basilicas, which were already falling to decay, and attracted the spoiler by the gold which was possibly still affixed to them by votaries.

The brutal fury of the victors satisfied itself for some days in robbery and murder, until the Romans, a cord and a naked sword round their necks, threw themselves at the feet of the duke. The grim conqueror felt compassion, but he could not make good their losses.[2] The sack of Rome remains a

[1] *Multa millia Romanor. vendidit ut Judæos, quosdam vero captivos duxit usq. Calabriam*, says Gregory's adherent Bonizo, p. 818. *Mulieres conjugatas et simplices, vinctis post tergum manibus, violenter prius oppressas ad tabernacula adduci præcepit.* Wido, c. 20. Pand. Pisan.: *vendens plurimos*, &c.

[2] Wido speaks of his remorse, *quod tantis urbem affecisset injuriis*, and even the Norman Gaufried, who is silent concerning these horrors, felt the disgrace of Rome (iii. c. 38):—

dark stain on Gregory's history, as also on that of Guiscard. It was Nemesis that compelled the Pope, however hesitatingly and reluctantly, to gaze upon the flames of Rome. Was not Gregory VII. in the burning city (and it burned on his account) as terrible a man of destiny as Napoleon calmly riding over bloody fields of battle? Leo the Great, who preserved the sacred city from Attila and obtained alleviation for her fate from the anger of Genseric, forms a glorious contrast to Gregory, not one of whose contemporaries has recorded that he made any attempt to save Rome from the sack, or ever shed a tear of compassion for her fall.[1] What to this man of destiny was the destruction of half Rome in comparison with the idea for which he sacrificed the peace of the world?

4. Hildebert's Lament over the Fall of Rome —Ruin of the City in the time of Gregory VII.

Years afterwards a foreign bishop, Hildebert of Tours, who visited the city about the year 1106, lamented its ruin in the following touching words:—

"*Par tibi, Roma, nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina,*
Quam magna fueris integra, fracta doces.

Ni cessassent bonæ artis in te prima studia
Nulli regi de te cessisset victoria
Miles quidem est normannus, qui te victam superat.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis alone, writing in the twelfth century, tells us that Guiscard wished to destroy Rome entirely, but that the Pope, throwing himself at his feet, deterred him. *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vii. 643.

Longa tuos fastus ætas destruxit, et arces
Cæsaris et superûm templa palude jacent.
Ille labor, labor ille ruit, quo dirus Araxes
Et stantem tremuit, et diruisse dolet.
Quem gladii Regum, quem provida jura Senatus,
Quem superi rerum constituere caput.
Quem magis optavit cum scelere solus habere
Cæsar, quam socius, et pius esse socer.
Qui crescens studiis tribus, hostes, crimen, amicos
Vi domuit, secuit legibus, emit ope.
In quem dum fieret vigilavit cura priorum,
Juvit opus pietas, hospitis unda locum.
Expendere duces thesauros, fata favorem,
Artifices studium, totus et orbis opes.
Proh dolor! urbs cecidit, cujus dum specto ruinas,
Penso statum, solitus dicere: Roma fuit.
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis
Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.
Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans
Æquari possit, diruta nec refici.
Confer opes, ebur et marmor, superûmque favorem
Artificum vigilent in nova facta manus.
Non tamen aut fieri par stanti fabrica muro,
Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.
Cura hominum potuit tantam componere Romam,
Quantam non potuit solvere cura deûm.
Hic superûm formas superi mirantur et ipsi,
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares;
Non potuit natura deos hoc ore creare
Quo miranda deûm signa creavit homo.
Vultus adest his numinibus, potiusque coluntur
Artificum studio, quam deitate sua.
Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide."[1]

[1] The elegy is given in Beaugendre, *Op. Hildeb.*, col. 1334. William of Malmesbury copied it (*de Gestis Anglor.*, iii. 134), and added: *Roma nunc ad comparationem antiquitatis videtur oppidum exiguum.*

Hildebert of Tours.

Hildebert beheld the destruction of the city in the beginning of the twelfth century; its ancient and its new ruins and the still fresh traces of the enemy. The talented poet was shocked at the pagan emotions which Rome awoke within him, and sought to efface them by means of a second elegy, in which he placed words of consolation in the mouth of sorrowing Rome. "When I still," for so he caused the unfortunate sibyl to speak, "when I still took pleasure in idols, my army, my people, and my marble magnificence were my pride. The idols and the palaces are fallen, people and knights have sunk into servitude and Rome scarcely remembers Rome; but now, I have exchanged the eagle for the cross, Cæsar for Peter, and earth for heaven."[1]

Destruction of Rome by Henry and the Normans.

These exalted reflections could not, however, console the Romans for the ruins of their city, through which they wandered as beggars. Rome had become the poorer by many thousand inhabitants through

[1] *Vix scio, quæ fuerim, vix Romæ Roma recordor;*
Vix sinit occasus vel meminisse mei.

The words of a genuine poet; he exclaims, however, in a third poem:—

Roma nocens, manifesta docens exempla nocendi,
Scylla rapax, puteusque capax, avidusque tenendi.

A hundred years before Hildebert, a similar lament, contained in a poem of Otto III.'s time, is put into the mouth of Rome, or is uttered of her:—

Edita consulibus numerasti Roma triumphos,
Segna moves planctus edita consulibus.
Quæ tibi causa mali felix o gloria mundi,
Cur manant oculi que tibi cause mali. . . .

In Di Costanzo, *Disam. degli scrittori — riguardanti S. Rufino*, Assisi, 1797, p. 423.

war, flight, death, and imprisonment. For centuries she had suffered no such violent blow: twenty years of civil war, storms within and without, and lastly fire, had added their ravages to those inflicted by the first hostile destruction which she had actually suffered since the time that Totila had torn down her walls. We can enumerate a series of monuments which owed their destruction to this period.

Henry's attacks on S. Paul's had apparently effected the ruin of the ancient colonnade, which stretched from the gate to the basilica; and with the capture of the Borgo the Vatican portico was destroyed. The Leonina had perished by fire; S. Peter's itself must have been injured. Within the city Palatine and Capitol had been laid waste, and the fate of the Septizonium, at that time the finest portion of the imperial palaces, must have been shared by other fortified buildings.[1] Nevertheless the destruction under Cadalus and Henry was inconsiderable when compared with the burning under the Normans.[2] For Guiscard twice set the city in flames; first when he entered by the Flaminian Gate; and again when he was attacked by the Romans. The Field of Mars, possibly as far as the Bridge of Hadrian, was destroyed by fire; the remains of the

[1] Almost every important monument was fortified at this time. The decree of deposition at Brixen says: *portas Rom. urbis et pontes, turres, ac triumphales arcus, armatorum cuneis munivit* (*Cod. Udalrici*, 164).

[2] Rome had previously been devastated by fires. Under Leo IX.: *Magna pars urbis cremata est in festo s. Eustachii.* Under Alexander II.: *fuit incend. a parione usque ad s. Felicem in pincis.* Catalogues in Cencius.

porticos in this neighbourhood and several other monuments perished; the Mausoleum of Augustus escaped owing to the mode of its construction, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius owing to its isolated position on an entirely open piazza.[1] The hitherto thickly inhabited quarter of the Lateran was destroyed by fire as far as the Colosseum, and the Lateran Gate itself was henceforward known as the "burned." The ancient church of the Quattro Coronati was reduced to ashes; the Lateran and several churches must have suffered severely; the Colosseum, the Triumphal Arches, the remains of the Circus Maximus can hardly have escaped.[2] All the chroniclers who have incidentally described the frightful catastrophe, unanimously affirm that it was responsible for the destruction of a great part of the city. A historian, living at the end of the fifteenth century, with justice pronounced the opinion, that Rome had originally been reduced to the lamentable condition which it presented at his time by the

[1] Pand. Pisan., p. 313: *totam regionem illam, in qua eccles. S. Silvestri et S. Laurentii in Lucina sitæ sunt, penitus destruxit.*

[2] According to Pandulf Pisan. (p. 313), the regions *circa Lateranum et Coliseum* were burnt; according to Romuald, from the Lateran to S. Angelo; according to Bonizo, almost all the regions; according to Godfrey (Pantheon), a part of Rome; *hinc Lateranensis porta perusta sonat.* The Apulian William only speaks of some buildings. Lupus is silent. Gaufried: *Dux ignem exclamans . . . urbs maxima ex parte incendio consumitur. Anon. Hist. Sicul.* (Murat., viii. 772): *civitate in magna sua parte collisa.* Petr. Diacon., iii. c. 53: *ex consilio Cencii Romanor. consulis ignem in Urbem imisit,* and this happened near the Quattro Coronati. *Chron. de Rob. Viscart,* c. 7: *une grant part de la cité fu arse, et puiz mandèrent pour paiz à lo duc.* Landulf (*Hist. Med.*, iii. c. 33) says three parts of the city were burnt; Bernold and Wido: *maximam urbis partem incendit.*

fury of the Normans.[1] The formerly thickly populated Cœlian (the region of the Colosseum), it is true, still remained inhabited. But it, too, gradually became deserted and the like fate befell the Aventine, renowned for its splendour until the time of Otto III. The traveller of the present day, who visits these two ancient hills and finds in their silent desertion nothing but ruins and the remains of early churches, may recall the fact that this desertion is due to the Norman destruction. This quarter of the city became gradually forsaken, and the inhabitants thronged more and more into the Field of Mars, where new Rome arose.

Owing, moreover, to internal causes, the destruction of the city made rapid progress at this period. The building of churches had formerly contributed to its ruin, and the transformation of ancient monuments into fortresses and towers now effected the like result. Foreign cities, too, even sent to Rome, as to a quarry, for stones and columns. The beautiful cathedral of Pisa,—built in the eleventh century,—the celebrated cathedral of Lucca, consecrated by Alexander II., were undoubtedly adorned with columns which had either been presented by Rome, or had been purchased from the city. When Desiderius built his basilica, he bought columns and blocks of marble in Rome, which he caused to be shipped from Portus, and although, amid the booty which Robert carried off to Salerno, pagan statues can scarcely have been forthcoming, it is probable that it contained valuable ornaments and columns which were

[1] Blondus, *Hist. Decad.*, ii. lib. iii. 204.

afterwards employed in building the cathedral of S. Matthew in this southern city.[1] It is possible that, like Genseric, Robert may also have removed actual works of art, for some remarks uttered by Hildebert in his first elegy allow us to conclude that, even after the Norman sack, statues of marble or bronze still survived in Rome.

5. Departure of Gregory VII. into Exile—His Fall—His Death in Salerno—His Figure in Universal History.

The horrors committed by his liberators condemned Gregory VII. henceforward to an eternal exile, which was his just punishment in the highest sense of earthly destiny. His career ended in the ruins of Rome. Although the Romans had promised submission, he must nevertheless have foreseen that, as soon as the Normans had withdrawn, he would fall a victim to their revenge.[2] Robert took hostages, placed a garrison in S. Angelo, and in June departed with the Pope into the Campagna, where he attacked Tivoli in vain, but destroyed other for-

Gregory VII. leaves Rome with the Normans.

[1] Alphanus in his poem on the building of Monte Casino says :—

Hic tamen haud facile
Ducta labore vel arte rudi
Omnis ab urbe columna fuit.

Leo of Ostia (iii. 28) says that Desiderius bought in Rome *columnas, bases ac lilia* (capitals) *nec non et diversor. color. marmora.*

[2] Hugo, *Chron.*, ii. 462 : *at quia Normannor. insatiabilitas urbe capte et prædæ data multa mala perpetraverat, nobilium Romanor. filias stuprando—nullumq. modum—in rapina, crudelitate, direptione habentes ;* the Pope therefore went to Salerno in fear.

tresses.[1] From some of these heights on the Campagna, Gregory must have turned a last painful look on Rome, in order to take farewell of the theatre of his struggles, of the Eternal City, which he left in ruins behind him. He might tell himself that he had not been defeated, but that neither had he conquered. With gloomy thoughts he must have mentally followed Henry to the Po on his triumphal progress homewards, Henry who had conquered the city, who had obtained the imperial crown, who had raised an anti-pope to the sacred chair, and had compelled Gregory himself to go forth, a fugitive, into exile, laden with the curse of Rome. While one of the enemies proceeded northwards, the other was obliged to turn with the troops of Roman prisoners to the south, condemned to gratitude towards a vassal who carried him off into a foreign land. The departure of the great Pope from ruined Rome amid the swarms of Normans and Saracens, against whose fellow-believers he had formerly preached a crusade, his sorrowful journey to Monte Casino and Salerno, where he went to eat the bread of exile at the hand of his friend Desiderius, form a tragic end to the drama of his life, a drama in which eternal justice obtains as glorious a triumph as in Napoleon's lonely death on St Helena.

Gregory died on May 25, 1085, occupied with

Death of Gregory VII., May 25, 1085.

[1] According to Wido, Robert attacked Tivoli, *maxime ob injuriam Clementis apostolici, qui tunc temporis morabatur in illa;* although accepted by Romuald, this is, to say the least, very doubtful. Bernold more accurately says, A. 1084, without mentioning Tivoli: *ipse ad recuperandam terram s. Petri cum papa Gregorio de Roma exercitum promovit, iterum Romam in festivitate s. Petri reversurus*, &c.

schemes of returning to Rome at the head of an army. On his death-bed he sighed: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."[1] The words reveal the fundamental basis of his character, which was great and manly. This grand spirit, a character almost without equal, does not, however, stand amid the glorious ranks of sages and reformers who are reverenced by all races without distinction as benefactors of mankind. To Gregory belongs a place among the rulers of the earth, men who have moved the world by a violent yet salutary influence. The religious element, however, raises him to a far higher sphere than that which belongs to secular monarchs. Beside Gregory Napoleon sinks to an utter poverty of ideas.

Gregory was the heir of the ancient aims of the Papacy. But his unexampled genius as ruler and statesman is his own, and no one, either in ancient Rome or in modern times, has ever attained to his revolutionary daring.[2] This monk did not shrink from the thought of overthrowing the order of things existing in Europe, in order to raise the papal throne upon its ruins. His true greatness, however, lies behind his papacy. As Pope he aimed too high, thinking in his brief moment of power to compass at once the work of centuries. He who desires the impossible must appear a visionary, and as that of a

[1] *Dilexi justitiam, et odii iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio.*

[2] His terrible battle-cry in the war against the secular tyranny, which he wished to replace by a spiritual tyranny, *maledictus homo, qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine,* expresses his despotic character. This was also the cry of the Jacobins and of Robespierre.

visionary must be regarded Gregory's attempt to seize the dominion of the political world.

Marvellous was the strength with which he won the freedom of the Church, and founded the dominion of the hierarchy. The realm of priests, who bore in their hands no other weapons than a cross, a gospel, a blessing and a curse, is more remarkable than the united empire of Roman or Asiatic conquerors. As long as the world lasts this spiritual empire will remain a unique, unexampled phenomenon of moral power. Gregory VII. was a hero of this priestly empire alone. His purpose, it is true, embraced mankind as a Church, but the Church only existed for him in the form of the papal monarchy. The idea of setting up a mortal as an infallible and God-like being, holding the keys of heaven and hell, and of submitting to him, at once the apostle of meekness and the vicar of God, the whole world, is so astonishing, that it will continue to awake the surprise of the latest generations of mankind.[1] The idea was the outcome of an age of slavery, of barbarism and necessity, when suffering humanity desired to have the principle of good embodied in a personality before its eyes, a personality which to its comfort it could always see and reach. The transference to a human being of the power to bind and to loose in moral affairs is perhaps the most wondrous

[1] Vice-god, as the popes have actually been called. Thus below a picture representing the baptism of Constantine, I read the following inscription in a church called Mentorella, near Guadagnolo :—

con l'acque battesimal il Vicedio
lava l'imperator el rende pio.

fact in the history of the world. It is, however, explained by the fact that in the Middle Ages the Church represented the universal needs, the strongest passions, and, at the same time, the highest ideas of mankind. It was not until after the struggles which dated from Gregory VII. that the laity, hitherto rude, vicious, and uncultured, began to show signs of intellectual life.

No wonder, therefore, that the greatness of the Church assumed this audacious character in Gregory. History, however, has not ratified his unchristian ideal, for this ideal remained below the loftier conception of humanity. The teaching of the apostles endures; time has long overthrown the hierarchical principles of Gregory, or culture, becoming universal, has turned them to derision as the belated dreams of the obscurantist and the fanatic. We may reproach Gregory with having severed the Church into two halves; into the profane laity, deprived for ever of all rights of election, and the sacred and self-elective priestly caste. The conception of the Christian republic was indeed falsified by the Gregorian principles, for the hierarchy usurped the place of the Church.[1] Into this hierarchy Gregory infused a spirit of Cæsarism. If this system, perfected on his lines, united in itself all political forms, —democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy,—it must,

[1] *Il faut le dire, le vice radical des relations de l'Eglise avec les peuples, c'est la séparation des gouvernants et des gouvernés, la non-influence des gouvernés sur leur gouvernement, l'indépendance du clergé chrétien à l'égard des fidèles.* Guizot, *Civilization en Europe*, vi. leçon, p. 52.

nevertheless, be granted that its machinery, directed by a single will, and the centralisation of all dogmatic power in a caste, engendered all the evils of clerical despotism and tyranny; and we can understand that the work of Gregory VII. necessarily entailed the German reformation.

The best work that Gregory accomplished was a result undreamed of by himself, the awakening of intellect in the world, by means of a struggle which for the first time stirred all the moral depths of life. From this one man proceeded a movement, immeasurable in its extent, which spread through every circle of Church and State. The gigantic struggle between these two forms, which together represent the social whole, their original barbarous feudal blending, their gradual separation, their permanent division, constitute the historic life of the Middle Ages. And even now we are occupied with the problem of how to render Church and State completely independent powers, how to rescue them from their last hierarchical rigidity, to equalise them in the principles of freedom and justice, to make them work together, and thus at last to build up a universal empire of culture and peace. In the age of physical force and barbarism, mankind was incapable of grasping the lofty ideas of Christianity. Was the Church of Gregory VII. and of the Middle Ages the realisation of Christianity? Are these pure ideas, the expression of nature in its eternal personal and social aspect, even now realised? The extinction of the Frankish feudal State, and the decline of the power of the Gregorian Church, have rather

begun to denote a new phase in the history of the human race. Those still gigantic ruins of the Middle Ages sink one after the other before our eyes into the great stream of the harmony of life, which, after countless struggles, still encompasses this hard and tedious world, and bears us onward to a happiness, the anticipation of which must gladden every noble spirit.[1]

[1] Even the corpse of Gregory VII. remained in exile at Salerno. Rome possesses no monument of this pope. He built nothing. As rector of S. Paul's he restored this basilica, and Pantaleo of Amalfi adorned it with bronze doors, which perished in the fire of 1823. I have seen the remains of these doors in two wooden chests in the monastery of S. Paul's. The engraved figures and inscriptions are undestroyed; the niello in metal is alone lacking, and this not in consequence of the fire, but of the rapacious instincts of the Romans in times subsequent to the Normans. Every inscription belonging to Gregory VII.'s time is now valuable. I have searched, one after another, all the Roman churches and have discovered only one stone which speaks of Gregory VII. This is built into the wall of a chapel in S. Pudenziana.

Tempore Gregorii Septeni Presulis Almi
Presbiter Eximius Præclarus Vir Benedictus
Moribus Ecclesiam Renovavit Funditus Istam . . .

CHAPTER VII.

1. Desiderius is raised by force to the Papal Chair as Victor III.—He escapes to Monte Casino: he resumes the Papal Dignity in 1087—Is consecrated in Rome — Condition of the City — Victor III. escapes to Monte Casino, where he dies (1087)—Election and Ordination of Otto of Ostia as Urban II. (1088).

After Gregory's fall the city of Rome resembled a deserted stage, which only tardily becomes peopled by insignificant figures. Not only the actions, but also the fall of a great man leave an influence behind which may be traced in a thousand ever-widening circles in the waves of time, until these circles finally lose themselves in space. Gregory's coffin was now surrounded by the men of the hierarchy, who had grown old and grey fighting in its defence, as the body of Alexander the Great in former days had been surrounded by his generals. Who was to inherit the spiritual empire? Was it to be overthrown by the petty passions of envy and ambition? Such would have been the case in a secular State; in the realm of priests, however, where there was no family dynasty to be founded, the actual heir was the hierarchical spirit which continued to subsist as an indestructible principle.

Gregory, on his deathbed, had designated four candidates for the forthcoming papal election: Desiderius of Monte Casino, Cardinal of S. Cecilia in Trastevere; Anselm of Lucca; Otto of Ostia; Hugh of Lyons. The wishes of the cardinals centred around Desiderius, a talented man of diplomatic duplicity, without force of character. The wealth of the abbot, the respect which he enjoyed among contemporary princes, his connection with the Normans, his very relations with the Emperor Henry made his election desirable. Guiscard's death had just deprived the Papacy of a powerful support. This extraordinary man, who, like Gregory, had risen from the dust, and, like Gregory, had bestowed a heroic lustre on the history of Italy, died in Cephalonia on July 17, soon after the Pope.[1] It was now believed that Desiderius could alone avert the threatened evil, in case the heirs of the duke proved faithless and disunited. If, however, the abbot coveted the tiara at such a moment, his ambition must have been more than great. Monte Casino reminded him that he might end his days in the tranquil enjoyment of happiness, surrounded by the peaceful muses, turning over manuscripts adorned with purple miniatures, or disputing with scholars; it reminded him that it were folly to exchange the lonely cloister for tumultuous Rome, to plunge into

[1] Robert was buried at Venosa, where the following haughty lines were written on his grave :—

Hic terror mundi Guiscardus. Hic expulit urbe
Quem Ligures, Regem, Roma, Alemannus habent,
Parthus, Arabs, Macedumque phalanx non texit Alexim,
At fuga; sed Venetum nec fuga, nec pelagus.

an endless struggle with the world, to expose himself to the intrigues of ambitious and envious cardinals, and lastly to draw upon himself a fatal destiny. The two years that followed Gregory's death present the spectacle of a battle for the papal crown, with the object not of acquiring, but of evading it. This attractive spectacle is, we may say, the best funeral oration on Gregory's greatness. The dead Pope seemed to hold the tiara fast even in his coffin, and Desiderius, the distinguished man who belonged to the Lombard house of Benevento, repeatedly driven towards it by the cardinals and princes, even recoiled from this crown as from something sinister. The human feeling shown in his resistance was fine, even as a proof of conscious weakness; nature, however, remains everywhere so much the same, that even here a prelate was not wanting to cast furtive glances of envious longing at the tiara behind Desiderius's back.

Desiderius declines the papal crown.

The year 1085 passed without an understanding being arrived at. The abbot announced his refusal to Jordan, Prince of Capua, to the Countess Matilda, and to the cardinals, explaining that he would use his influence to procure the elevation of a worthy pope at an elective council. But not until Easter of the following year did he come with Prince Gisulf to Rome. The deserted city still remained divided into two camps; the imperialists united, the Gregorians in suspense, led by the Consul Cencius Frangipani, the head of the republic. Desiderius hoped that the public would have acquiesced in his continued refusal; the cardinals and nobles, however, assembled

in S. Lucia by the Septizonium, on their knees implored him to accept the Papacy. He took counsel with Cencius, he proposed the Bishop of Ostia, he undertook to provide for the pope, whoever he might be, at his own expense until peace was restored to the Church. The populace, however, frantically shouted his name, the impatient cardinals proclaimed him as pope on May 24, 1086, and with despair he saw himself clad in the purple as Victor III. It was found impossible, however, to thrust upon him the white vestment known as the alb.[1]

Desiderius as Victor III., 1086, 1087.

Meanwhile the election of Victor III. did not remain uncontested. A tumult in the city taught him what he had to expect as pope. Henry's party, which remained in possession of several fortresses in Rome, had for some time past found its head in the imperial Prefect. The Prefect taken prisoner by Guiscard had been released by Roger, Guiscard's successor in the duchy. He was furious against the college of cardinals, which had refused him the ratification of the Archbishop of Salerno. As soon as his own advantage dictated, the vassal of the sacred chair withdrew his aid. Henry's Prefect collected arms on the Capitol, prevented Victor's consecration in the Vatican, and the scarcely elected Pope escaped after four days, alike from friends and enemies, by a departure which resembled a flight. The Counts of the Campagna being of imperial sympathies, he was forced to follow the sea-coast by

[1] *Cappam quidem rubeam induit, alba vero induere eum nunquam potuerunt.* The description given by Peter Diaconus (iii. c. 66) is lively and dramatic.

Ardea; arriving at Terracina, he laid aside the insignia of the Papacy and hastened back to his beloved monastery.[1]

Here he remained a year, deaf to the entreaties of both bishops and princes, and to the exhortations of S. Peter to guide his pilotless ship through the storms of the time. Cardinals, Roman nobles with their leader Cencius, bishops of Southern Italy, reassembled in Capua during the Lent of 1087 for the papal election, gathering round Prince Jordan, who had been made advocate of the Church. Roger, Duke of Apulia, and the dethroned Prince Gisulf were also present. The Gregorian party, however, headed by Hugh of Lyons and Otto of Ostia, was hostile to Desiderius and strongly opposed the re-election of the abbot, whose conduct and principles appeared ambiguous. The result of their opposition was that Desiderius voluntarily resumed the papal insignia on March 21. If human ambition stirred within him, the thought of beholding the tiara on the head of one of his opponents, more especially on that of Hugh of Lyons, may have proved insupportable.[2]

Victor III. left for Rome after Easter under the escort of Jordan and Gisulf. The little army

[1] Petr. Diacon., iii. c. 66, 67. Of the Prefect he says: *die noctuque cum aliquantis ære iniquo conductis in Capitolium contra eundem electum conveniens, persecutiones ei maximas intulit.*

[2] Hugo Flav. (ii. 466) blames Desiderius as an intriguer: he caused himself to be elected by force, censured Gregory's actions, and boasted of having achieved Henry's coronation. See Hugh of Lyons' violent letter to Matilda (Hugo, *Chron.*, ii. 466). He and the Abbot of Marseilles were excommunicated by Desiderius.

advanced seawards, crossed the Tiber at Ostia and encamped outside the Leonina. S. Peter's, where the Pope was to be consecrated, was in the hands of the enemy. The imperial Prefect had seized Rome after Victor's flight, and had hastily summoned Clement III. The continued anarchy afforded him but little ground for hope. The weariness was universal, Henry was at a distance, Rome undisciplined, torn and devastated, and Matilda's troops still remained in arms. The aspect which the city now presented, and the nature of its condition, may be imagined, but cannot be described.

Clement III. in the Vatican and the Pantheon.

Clement III. came, collected his adherents, and dwelt in the Vatican. It is curious to reflect that the basilica of S. Peter henceforward actually served the factions as a fortress; that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the holiest cathedral of Christendom was besieged and defended like the Septizonium or S. Angelo, and that within its colonnades the soldiers fought as fiercely as on the battlements of any fortress. The Normans besieged the basilica; the fugitive Clement sought shelter in the city, in order to entrench himself within another indestructible church,—the ancient Pantheon,—and Victor III. was consecrated on May 9 in S. Peter's by the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Can we blame Desiderius for shrinking from the thought of the Papacy?

Only eight days afterwards he left Rome, impelled by urgent longing for his convent, but scarcely had he arrived at Monte Casino when he was recalled by messengers from the Countess Matilda, who had come to establish the rule of the Pope in Rome.

Sighing, he obeyed their summons ; Matilda's troops forced an entrance for him into a portion of the city, and here he took up his abode, dwelling with the countess on the island in the Tiber. Trastevere, S. Angelo, S. Peter's, Ostia and Portus alone remained in his power. The greater number of the Romans, inflamed by hatred towards the Gregorian papacy, which must necessarily throw them into the arms of the Normans and again recall the destroyers to the unfortunate city, remained faithful to Clement. The arrival of an imperial envoy, moreover, inspired the followers of Wibert with fresh courage. Amid scenes of hideous bloodshed S. Peter's was now recovered and now lost, and Victor III., in failing health, left Rome for the third time in July. In August he held a Synod in Benevento, where he confirmed Gregory's decrees, again excommunicated Clement III., and then had himself conveyed to his monastery to die. He appointed Oderisius abbot, for even as Pope he had continued to administer the affairs of the monastery ; he recommended Otto the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia as his successor to the sacred chair, and died on September 16, a tragic sacrifice to the Papacy from which he had hoped in vain to escape. The Abbot Desiderius was a great man and one of imperishable renown; the Pope Victor III. an inglorious and shadowy figure. The monks buried the restorer of their abbey in the chapter house, where he desired to rest, and inscribed a beautiful and touching epitaph on his gravestone.[1]

Death of Victor III., Sept. 16, 1087.

[1] According to the *Chron. of M. Casino*, he died on the *XVI. Kal. Octbr.* His epitaph says :—

Of the celebrated champions for reform who had formerly rallied round Gregory's banner, Desiderius was the last to quit the stage. Anselm of Lucca had died a year earlier. A new generation and other aims had arisen, in the midst of which Matilda, Henry, and Clement—the survivors of a great past—began to feel themselves strange and isolated.

Otto of Ostia had been first the rival of Victor III., and then sincerely reconciled to his former adversary. The voice of the dying man had chosen him as pope, and he had formerly been one of the four candidates designated by Gregory VII. Hugh of Lyons, another of the four, had been excommunicated by Victor III. as an enemy of the Church, and therefore could no longer enter into competition. The election of Otto was, nevertheless, delayed; Rome found herself in the power of the anti-pope; the cardinals quarrelled among themselves, and were scattered here and there. Envoys of the Gregorian party, envoys of the countess, repeatedly summoned them to bestow a head on the disorganised Church; several of them at last gathered round the Abbot Oderisius, and convoked an elective council.

On May 8, 1088, forty bishops, cardinals, and abbots assembled at Terracina; John of Portus

Quis fuerim, vel quid, qualis, quantusque doceri
Si quis forte velit, aurea scripta docent.
Stirps mihi magnatum, Beneventus patria, nomen
Est Desiderius, tuque Casine decus. . . . .

See my *Grabdenkmäler der Päpste.* Concerning the life and activity of Desiderius, see F. Hirsch, "Desiderius von M. Casino als Papst Victor III.," vol. vii. of the *Forsch. zur deutsch. Geschichte*, 1867.

represented the clergy, Benedict the papal prefect the people of Rome, and legates of Germany, as of the Countess Matilda, were also present.[1] On March 12 Cardinal Otto was proclaimed and consecrated as Urban II. He was the first pope who, in conformity with the decree of election of Nicholas II., received ordination outside Rome and in a provincial city. Urban II., Pope, 1088–1099.

2. Urban II.—Clement III. in Possession of Rome—Urban II. throws himself into the arms of the Normans, who conduct him to Rome—His disconsolate Position in the City — Matilda's Marriage with Guelf V.—Henry IV. returns to Italy (1090)—The Romans summon Clement III. back to the City — Rebellion of the youthful Conrad—Urban II. seizes Rome.

Urban II. was a Frenchman of noble birth, belonging to Chatillon, in the neighbourhood of Rheims, and had formerly been monk and prior of Cluny. To his zeal for reform and his theological culture he owed his elevation to the Cardinal-bishopric of Ostia in 1078. He had been kept a prisoner for a time by Henry IV., and it appears that the King had in him a not very keen opponent. As legate in Germany, where he had served at the time that Gregory VII.

[1] *Ex urbe vero Rom. — Benedictus præfectus universor. laicor. fidelium consensum unanimem attulerunt.* Petr. Diacon., iv. c. 2. There were anti-prefects. In 1080, Peter was still imperial Prefect (*Reg. Farfa*, n. 1134). Contelorius, whom I have repeatedly been able to supplement, invents the Prefect Petrus de Vico in 1099, or rather brings this family on the stage as early as 1080.

had been liberated in Rome, he had become profoundly versed in all ecclesiastical and political affairs; his intellect was stronger than that of Desiderius, his ability as an orator and diplomatist was recognised, and in Urban the Catholic party saw the man who would tread the path of Gregory VII., and have shrewdness to discover fresh means for the struggle when the old had become exhausted.[1] Urban himself immediately announced to Christendom that he was determined to rule as Pope in the spirit of Gregory; his position, however, was difficult. In Germany the civil war had never ceased since Henry's return; Hermann, the second anti-king, had died after making submission to the Emperor (in 1088), and the Saxons and nearly all the papal bishops gradually leaned more and more to Henry's side. Since 1087 the young King Conrad, Henry's son, had been in Lombardy, and the Emperor at length threatened to return to overthrow Matilda, and to establish Clement III. permanently in Rome.

The city was in Clement's power; during this rule of anti-popes and anti-prefects it lay sunk in the most frightful anarchy. The history of Rome reveals nothing but scenes of daily warfare in the streets, the tyranny of rude nobles, and the misery of a mendicant people amid a city that resembled a mound of ruins.

It seemed as if Gregory VII. had drawn the fate of exile on a long series of his successors; since

[1] For his earlier life see M. F. Stern, *Zur Biogr. des Papstes Urban II.*, Berlin, 1883.

after his time we find many of the popes almost constantly in flight or banishment—a curious condition, and one hitherto unseen in the history of the popes. Urban II. must have remained almost the entire year in Southern Italy, where the brothers Roger and Bœmund were engaged in bitter warfare for the succession, until their uncle Roger of Sicily and the Pope succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. The Papacy owed its life to the doubtful protection of Norman princes, and it was a Norman army that led Urban II. back to Rome in November 1088. The city thus again became the theatre of strife between the two popes, who fought each other in the streets, reciprocally anathematised and alternately banished one another.

The Normans conduct Urban II. to Rome, Nov. 1088.

Urban remained on the island of the Tiber, behind the shield of Pierleone, powerless and so poor as to receive alms from the matrons of Rome. Nevertheless, with subtle art he ceaselessly wove webs of cunning with which he entrapped his enemies. Clement, on the other hand, still ruled the greater portion of the city; he was forced, however, to bewail the unhappy fate which condemned him to maintain a title with superhuman exertions.[1] He longed, and perhaps sincerely, to spend the remaining years of his life within the modest limits of his archbishopric. Urban II., Henry IV., Matilda, and

[1] The Germans made a witty epigram on the two popes (*Cod. Udalrici*, n. 2):—

Nomen habes Clemens, sed clemens non potes esse,
Tradita solvendi cum sit tibi nulla potestas.
Diceris Urbanus, cum sis projectus ab Urbe,
Vel muta nomen, vel regrediaris ad Urbem.

the world desired peace, but the force of the destiny which all the parties to the strife had invoked upon their heads, and by which an entire generation was plunged in inextricable confusion, drove them blindly onwards, and added intrigue to intrigue, and crime to crime. Henry himself was already disposed to reconciliation with the Church; the excommunicated bishops, who stood or fell with Clement III., alone deterred him, and an important event even forced him to make war again in Italy.

Urban, recognising that Matilda's now enfeebled party was ready to make terms with Henry, and dreading the victorious return of the Emperor, adroitly succeeded in providing the countess with another husband, and in bestowing a champion inspired by selfish aims upon the Church. Guelf IV., son of Azzo II., Margrave of Este, and of Kunigunde, a sister of the last Swabian duke of the house of Guelf, had become heir of this very house in 1055, and had exchanged Italy, his native country, for Germany, while his brother Fulco continued the line of Este. He had married the daughter of Otto, Duke of Bavaria, and in 1071 had received the dukedom (of which his rebellious father-in-law had been deprived) as fief from King Henry. After having deserted Henry's banner, he became his bitterest opponent and Gregory's most devoted partisan. In later times he had even been the head and soul of the Roman party in Germany, and on August 11, 1086, had utterly defeated Henry at Bleichfeld, not far from Würzburg. But even this valiant hero, weary of strife, would have come to

Marriage between the son of Guelf IV. and Matilda, 1089.

terms with the Emperor, had not ambition for the aggrandisement of his house in Italy suddenly found nourishment. His younger son, Guelf V., was destined to be sacrificed to the policy of a covetous father and of a cunning pope, who had selected him to be the husband of the Countess Matilda. Not the charms of the princess, now forty-two years of age, but her estates, formed the attraction; even Robert, heir to William of England, sought her hand, which she bestowed, however, on the young Guelf. The marriage took place in 1089; Guelf immediately lent new strength to the Catholic party in Italy, and Henry was obliged again to descend upon the country.[1]

Henry IV. comes to Italy, 1090.

When this hero of a hundred battles crossed the Alps in the spring of 1090, accompanied by the two Hohenstaufens, Frederick and Conrad, he found himself confronted by the same Countess Matilda, against whom he had already fought for years. The great princess, whose banner was now borne by her husband, a youth of eighteen, was, like himself, condemned to a life of incessant warfare, and if the inexhaustible energy of a monarch, who did battle for his empire, awakens surprise, the fanatical persistence of a childless woman borders on the mysterious. We shall not describe Henry's energetic wars in Lombardy, nor the obstinate resistance of Matilda, who, urged by discontented vassals to

[1] Bernold, *ad A.* 1089: *In Italia nobil. Mathildis—Welfoni duci filio Welfonis ducis conjugio copulatur—non tam pro incontinentia, quam pro Rom. Pontificis obedientia, videl. ut tanto virilius S. R. E. contra excommunicatos posset subvenire.* Guelf IV. was the ancestor of the house of Brunswick.

make peace, with feminine obstinacy scornfully rejected the proposal. Our attention is directed to the city of Rome, although the spectacle of its condition remains unaltered. In spite of the fact that Clement had been banished by the fickle Romans, Urban could not become master of the city: on the contrary, he was obliged to wander restlessly in South Italy, where he endeavoured to retain the friendship of the Normans. Even Jordan of Capua profited by the prevailing disorder to annex Roman territory, and had obtained possession of almost the entire Campagna when death overtook him in the Volscian Pipernum on November 20, 1090.[1] While Urban now convened Synods in Melfi, Troja, and Benevento, the Romans again renounced him. In fact, Henry's advance (an attempt on the part of the elder Guelf to make peace having proved unsuccessful) had produced such an influence upon them that they again returned to his side. They took S. Angelo by a sudden assault in 1091, expelled the papal garrison, and were with difficulty prevented from razing the fortress to the ground. They now summoned Clement III., who was in Henry's camp, back to the city.[2]

The Romans summon Clement III. to the city.

As often as the anti-pope came to Rome, he was

[1] Petr. Diacon., iv. c. 10: *cum univ. fere Campaniam a jure sedis Ap. subductam in dedit. accepisset, apud Pipernum vita decedit.*

[2] The Catalogue in Cencius: *Tpe. Urbani PP. et H. Imp. terremotus fuit Rome in festo sce. agnetis et castrum sci Angeli a Romanis captum est.* Bernold, A. 1091: *Romani quoque turrem Crescentii, quæ eatenus d. papæ obediebat, dolo captam diruere temptaverunt.—Romani quoque Guibertum hæresiarcham, quem jamdudum expulerunt, iterum Romam intrare permiserunt.*

able to summon a Synod of a few schismatic cardinals and of some suburban bishops, who owed their elevation to himself; these Synods, however, remained inoperative. Anti-bishops rent the Roman territory asunder, and almost all the Counts of the Campagna recognised Clement III., for these nobles availed themselves of the schism to rob the Church.[1] Meanwhile the administration of both spiritual and secular affairs remained in Wibert's hands. Urban, it is true, had his ministry, his judges, his prefects; they were, however, powerless, and both within the city and outside it the judicial acts were still dated with the year of Clement's pontificate. Urban was obliged to remain satisfied with anathematising his rival from Benevento, where he assembled a Council in March 1091. But he could not enter the city, and in both this and the following year he was forced to celebrate Christmas outside the walls, while Clement officiated in S. Peter's.

The fall of Mantua (in April 1091) and of other cities, the discouragement of Matilda's party, and the defection of Rome, struck the Catholics with dismay. They reflected on the possibility of raising up a new and formidable enemy to the Emperor. The cunning of the priests, the hatred, which now amounted to fanaticism, of a woman, and the avarice of the elder Guelf, combined to forge an outrageous

[1] A Count of Sutri was nephew of Wibert: *Odo—Comes Sutriæ nepos ejus erat, et ecclesiasticæ pacis fautores pluribus pressuris coercebat.* Ordericus VIII. in Pagi, *Critica*, A. 1086. As late as 1093 Hugo Candidus consecrated, as Bishop of Præneste, an altar with the inscription: *Romano Pontifice III. Clemente ab Ugone Prænestino Ep. dedicatum* (Cecconi, *Storia di Palestrina*, p. 141).

Defection of Conrad, son of Henry IV.

scheme. The young Conrad, Henry's eldest son, had for many years been his lieutenant in Italy. Unlike his father in character, he had inherited merely his father's fickleness of disposition without any of his passionate energy. All his contemporaries describe the youth as handsome, gentle, and with a taste for peaceful arts. The clergy had long since woven their toils round his heart; he was terrified at the prospect of the endless struggle; the rudeness of his father's surroundings was distasteful to him, and he was oppressed by the anathema of the Church. The son did not apparently approve of his father's principles, and the sensuality to which the latter gave way destroyed the filial reverence which was his due. Conrad was incited to rebellion; his father suspected his purpose and had him imprisoned; he escaped to Matilda, who received him with joy. The rebellion, which she encouraged, deprives this illustrious woman of the renown which had hitherto encompassed her career. The fervour of youth had fled. Standing at the side of her friend Gregory at Canossa and interceding for the humiliated King, Matilda's had been a figure to command esteem; sixteen years later, at the side of her boyish husband and sheltering the son of this King as a rebel under her "broad wings," she is a repulsive spectacle.[1] She

[1] Donizo has celebrated this act of Matilda's with cold-blooded effrontery (ii. v. 848):—

Se dominæ largis Mathildis subdidit alis;
Quæ veluti dignum valde carumque propinquum
Mox suscepit eum, laudans ut rex vocitetur.
Illius tractat patrem sic, Hister ut Aman;
Abstulit uxorem sibi primitus, et modo prolem.

sent him to the Pope, who absolved the traitor to his own father. Meanwhile, Guelf was active in forming a Lombard league against Henry; Conrad's rebellion drew with it the defection of several cities. Milan, formerly centre of the imperial party, Lodi, Piacenza, Cremona declared in favour of the rebel, and entered into a twenty years' alliance with the young Duke Guelf and the Countess Matilda. Conrad was crowned in Milan as King of Italy in 1093.[1]

Conrad crowned King of Italy, 1093.

When the unfortunate Emperor heard of his son's flight, defection, and coronation, he shut himself, overcome with sorrow, in his lonely fortress, and in his despair would have fallen upon his sword.[2] Whatever transgressions he may have committed (his bitter enemies were undoubtedly guilty of much invention and exaggeration), and however he may have been to blame for his son's apostasy, his lot was indeed hard. To add to his distress, his second wife, Praxedis or Adelais of Russia, fled from Verona to Matilda, and, at the instigation of the priests, the unhappy barbarian, shameless but not guiltless, in presence of two ecclesiastical councils revealed the mysteries of her marriage bed to the whole world.[3]

[1] *Conradus—patri suo rebellans, venit ad P. Urbanum, et solutus ab excomm., in Longobardia regnavit contra Patrem.* Dodechin, A. 1093 (Pistorius, i.). His account of the conduct which Henry attributed to his son in regard to his stepmother surpasses belief.

[2] *Nimioq. dolore affectus, se ipsum, ut ajunt, morti tradere voluit, set a suis præventus ad effectum pervenire non potuit.* Bernold, *Chron.*, A. 1093.

[3] Floto holds that the vices attributed to Henry are lies of the priests, and probably many of the rumours concerning him were utterly unfounded. Giesebrecht believes that the Emperor suspected the existence of unlawful relations between his wife and his son.

Urban II. comes to Rome, Nov. 1093.

The change in the course of events allowed Urban II. to come to Rome, at the end of November 1093. His rival was no longer in the city, but in Henry's camp. The followers of Wibert, however, held the Lateran, S. Angelo, and other fortified places. Urban was consequently obliged to seek shelter in the dwelling of the Frangipani. This family remained steadfast to the lawful popes; they had entrenched themselves near S. Maria Nova, on the ruins of the Temple of Venus and Rome, and guarded a strong tower under the Palatine, which they called Turris Cartularia, a tower which had originally belonged to the popes. The Arch of Titus, which was included within this baronial fortress, opened or closed its entrance on the Via Sacra.[1] Here Urban dwelt, under the protection of the Consul John, son of Cencius, and grandson of that Leo Frangipani who founded the fortunes of this celebrated family about the year 1000. The position of the Pope, who was oppressed by debt, was deplorable; the Abbot Godfrey of Vendôme, however, who was in the city at the time on affairs of his convent, touched by his situation, sold his possessions, released Urban from his difficulties, and gave him money, wherewith he bribed Ferrucius, the commandant of the Lateran appointed by Clement III. About Easter 1094 Urban entered the palace of the popes, and for the first time took his

Dwells in the fortress of the Frangipani.

[1] Bernold, A. 1094: *D. Papa Romæ prope S. Mariam novam in quadam firmiss. munitione morabatur*—more accurately the letter of the Abbot of Vendôme (viii. lib. i., Sirmond, Op. iii. 641): *audivi—dom P. Urbanum in domo Joannis Fricapanem latitare, et contra Guitbertistam hæresim viriliter laborare.* Some of Urban's Bulls are dated from S. Maria Nova.

seat on the Lateran throne, which, according to the opinion of the abbot, had not been occupied by any Catholic pope for a length of time.[1]

Urban II., aged, oppressed, owing the possession of the papal residence to the gold of a foreign abbot, seated in the deserted Lateran, surrounded by rude partisans and no less rude bishops, gazing on the ruins of churches and streets—memorials of Gregory VII.—and on a city silent as death, squalid and inhabited by a tattered, murderous, and miserable population, presents a gloomy picture of the decadence of the Papacy. History, too, does not offer many sadder spectacles than that of the Emperor Henry IV. at this very time, as, lost to sight in a Lombard fortress, with thoughts fixed on suicide, he laments the apostasy of his son, while all around the provinces lie devastated by fire and sword, no less desolate than they had lain at the time of the Gothic war. Such were the effects of the struggle for investiture, and such the memorials of the seventh Gregory.

[1] The abbot himself writes: *eum pene omnibus temporalibus bonis nudatum, et alieno ære nimis oppressum inveni;* he compares himself to Nicodemus, who was visited in secret by the Lord. In reward he was made Cardinal of S. Prisca, and for three centuries the abbots of Vendôme were called cardinals. See also Ep. ix. and xiv.

3. The Phenomenon of the Crusades—Strengthening of the Papacy through this Universal Movement—Urban II. preaches the Crusade in Piacenza and in Clermont (1095)—Attitude of the City of Rome to the Crusades and to Chivalry — The Normans of Italy take the Cross—The Army of French Crusaders marches through Rome and drives away Clement III.—Return of Urban II.

The tedious wars between the crown and the tiara had reduced the whole empire to a state of indescribable misery. The rage of factions had filled all circles of society with unnatural hatred, strife, and guilt. Conrad's filial apostasy was but the glaring symbol in which contemporary mankind recognised its own condition. For all around father stood divided against son, brother against brother, prince against prince, bishop against bishop, pope against pope. A division of life so deep-rooted as history had never previously beheld, appeared to sever Christendom itself, and to destroy the venerated power of its mysteries. The world was veiled in the darkness of the deadly curse; and where was the Saviour of blessing and of mercy? Had Christ now returned to earth, He would have discovered to His surprise that the religion of love which He had founded had changed beyond recognition from the pure sources of its origin. Peter, too, would have found to his astonishment that the successors to his apostolic office were occupied in erecting the throne of a Cæsar over his grave, and that, like the

emperors of Rome, they called themselves Pontifex Maximus.

At the end of the eleventh century the European world resembled a battlefield on which the darkness of night had fallen; where the armies, wearied but filled with hatred, yearning for peace, but condemned by unexpiated guilt to further fratricidal war, only awaited the morning to throw themselves on one another with renewed fury. But with the dawn of day they believed that a vision appeared in the heavens, a cherub who beckoned them to follow him to the East, commanded them to conclude the peace of God, and to proceed in arms to the sacred Jerusalem to atone for their own sins and the sins of the world at the grave of the Redeemer.

The Crusades

We see how the strange phenomenon of the Crusades is explained by the conditions of the time. The dispute concerning investitures became one of the levers of the immense movement, although many other motives may have played a part. All the results of history are developed from the secret workings of impulse and necessity, and guilt, delusion, or error, like virtue, reason, or genius, are motive causes. After the profound corruption of the fifteenth century, which made martyrs of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Savonarola, mankind longed for atonement, and the Reformation strove to recover the lost Christ in the sacred writings. In the eleventh century the human race was ruder and more childish by full four hundred years; it sought the Saviour in His material grave. The Crusades consequently represented the return of mankind to the sources of salvation in an

actual expedition to the cradle of the Christian religion in the East.

Was not Christ almost forgotten by the world? Had not the worship of the Virgin, of the apostles, and of a legion of saints thrust Him aside? Had not Rome erected the image of a Prince of the Apostles invested with the secular patriciate, of which a pope, as early as the eighth century, ventured to assert that it was honoured by the entire West as a god upon earth? Peter was the symbol of the Roman hierarchy, the unity of the universal Church, but not of the salvation which every Christian implored. Instead of addressing the door-keeper of heaven, was it not better to seek the Son of God Himself? The world had been taught to believe that the surest road to heaven lay through the gates of Rome: nevertheless, it was through these gates that Gregory VII.'s curse had reached the world and had visited it with afflictions. The reverence for Rome had long been diminished by the vices of the clergy, by many reprehensible popes, by the horrors of perpetual civil war; and at the time of Henry IV. pilgrims were scarcely able to reach the city, and rarely entered the desecrated church of S. Peter, which had become a fortress of Wibert's party. For a long time past, while the pilgrims to the grave of the Prince of the Apostles had gradually become less numerous, they had thronged ever more frequently to the grave of Christ, and Rome found a rival in sanctity in a Jewish town in distant Asia.[1]

[1] Among the pilgrims who visited Rome at this time was the

Reflective Romans may have denounced the Crusades for having diverted the streams of pious pilgrims and of gold past them in another direction; the city was destined bitterly to experience the alienation of these sources of revenue, but the Church created a new force out of the new enthusiasm. At a time when her fate remained doubtful in the struggle which still continued with Henry IV., the popes adroitly placed themselves at the head of an immense movement, advanced with the spirit of the age, rose out of the petty quarrels and interests, into which the struggle for reform had degenerated, to a universal Christian idea, a sublime object of religious imagination, led near and distant enemies, as well as the materials for heresy and schism, to Syria, united the Church in a great passion which inflamed Europe, and themselves attained a new height in the history of the world.

The present generation looks back with astonishment on a century when a hermit in squalid attire, riding through the world on an ass, was received as a messenger of God, when the account of the afflictions of the Christians in distant Jerusalem roused half the human race to a pious frenzy, and drove them from their homes to the open grave of Asia. The oppression of the Syrian Christians was not immoderately hard; historians of the time have not informed us of any massacre of 25,000 men, such as took place in Damascus in the year of civilisation 1860. Had Peter of Amiens had a similar fact

Danish King Eric (in 1092). He came, however, only to prosecute his case against the Archbishop of Hamburg. Baron., *ad A.* 1092.

behind him, he would probably have precipitated half Europe upon Asia, but at the present day would be merely derided as a lunatic. Mankind is happily no longer capable of undertaking homicidal expeditions for the sake of religious ideas, but may perhaps have purchased its toleration at the sacrifice of its fervid, youthful susceptibility for the exalted and sublime. After eight centuries, it were foolish to demonstrate that the Crusades were the product of religious frenzy; they are a manifestation of the spirit of the time, a product of the entire character of the Middle Ages, a great epoch in the life of humanity. The spectacle of the electric effect of an impulse, and of the influence by which this impulse unites peoples of such varied character, no longer united by any common aim, is a spectacle which in its greatness puts the divided and narrow-minded impotence of modern policy to shame.[1]

Urban II. preaches the Crusade in Piacenza,

Urban II. adorned his pontificate with the first Crusade, which he himself preached. Invited to Tuscany by the Countess Matilda, he convoked a Council in Piacenza. The rejoicings with which he was received in Lombardy, the crowd of clergy and laymen who assembled to meet him (in the beginning of March 1095), showed him that Henry's cause was lost; his own won. No cathedral was able to contain the parliament; it was obliged to hold its

[1] It is now amusing to note Gibbon's vehemence against the uselessness of the Crusades. Milman well says in a note to this passage :—"The Crusades are monuments of human folly! but to which of the more regular wars of civilised Europe will our calmer reason appeal as monuments either of human justice or human wisdom. . . ."

meetings in the open air. A profound excitement filled the world, which had been stirred to its depths by Gregory VII.; it was animated by a new spirit. The first embassy from the Byzantine emperor entreating help appeared before the Council and was comforted by promises of assistance. But a second general assembly was convened at Clermont for November, when the chivalrous Franks were summoned by a pope, who was himself a Frenchman, to the defence of the Eastern Church. Before Urban's departure he received the homage of the young Conrad in Cremona, and, under condition that the prince renounced the right of investiture, the Pope offered him the prospect of obtaining the empire. The dazzled rebel hastened to Pisa to receive his wealthy bride, the daughter of Roger of Sicily; the Pope to France to attend the Council.

He was greeted on the field of Clermont by the ardour of thirteen archbishops and two hundred and five bishops, by the homage of many nobles of French soil, and by the feverish shouts of thousands who lay encamped round the city like an electric cloud, only waiting for a spark from his word to break forth in flames. All the orators of Greece and Rome would have envied Urban not only his magnificent position, but the sympathy of the hearers who flocked to this historic parliament; and in scarcely any other place has language ever shown an equally overpowering might. The tongue of Cicero lent its sonorous majesty to a Roman orator even at this date to influence a crowd in whose mouth the ancient Latin had long been corrupt.

and in Clermont 1095.

Elsewhere, when speakers have desired to inspire their audience with enthusiasm for a great idea, they have adopted flattery, appealing to the noblest virtues, the presence of which they have taken for granted; the priestly orator, however, beheld in these thousands for the most part robbers and murderers, and these qualifications, so far from chilling their enthusiasm, only lent it an added fervour. Singular contrast! appeal is made to public feeling on behalf of the most exalted motive, and robbers and murderers, precisely because they are robbers and murderers, are summoned to strive for the highest aim. Urban II. did not deliver a speech, but a sermon, and the strongest of all motives for his audience was the atonement to be made for sins, the Crusade itself an act of discipline for the attainment of absolution. The Pope briefly depicted the captivity of the sacred city of the King of Kings, where Christ had walked, suffered, and died. In order to give emphasis to his utterances, he summoned tears, sighs, and quotations from the prophets to his aid, he called on Christendom with one accord to gird itself with the sword and deliver Christ from the Turkish chains. "Rise, turn your weapons, dripping with the blood of your brothers, against the enemy of the Christian faith. You, oppressors of orphans and widows; you, murderers and violators of churches; you, robbers of the property of others; you who accept money to shed the blood of Christians; you who, like vultures, are drawn by the scent of the battlefield; hasten, as you love your souls, under your captain Christ to the rescue of

Jerusalem. All you who are guilty of such sins as exclude you from the kingdom of God, ransom yourselves at this price, for such is the will of God."

The most glowing eloquence has frequently failed in rousing a multitude for its own immediate advantage; Urban, however, awoke the enthusiasm of this parliament of Clermont for distant fellow-believers and a far-off city, separated from Europe by land and sea and by a thousand years. The thickly-packed audience (which numbered within it but few innocent men) repeatedly interrupted the Pope with the fanatic shout: "Deus lo volt, Deus lo volt."[1] Princes, knights, bishops, serfs, with trembling haste fastened a red cross upon their garments; beneath this symbol ambition, love of adventure, and every crime found shelter: all bondsmen, all of servile state, all debtors and outlaws could assemble under the banner of the expedition, and be certain of obtaining remission of sins in life and paradise in death, and mountains of gold in Syria in the meantime. Urban's success was more complete than he had expected. Although some bishops urged him to place himself at the head of the expedition, he declined, naming, however, Bishop Ademar of Puy as his representative.

Attitude of the city of Rome towards the Crusades.

The historian of Rome looks around in search of such of her citizens as flocked to the banner of the Redeemer, in order that he may depict a Roman army in the history of the Crusades, and then de-

[1] Urban's short and simple discourse is given by Mansi, xx. 821. The importance of its matter in universal history outweighs the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero.

scribe, as is his duty, the *Gesta Dei per Romanos;* Romans, however, he fails to discover. Senate and people would probably have laughed in derision had Urban summoned them to rise in religious enthusiasm, to forsake the ruins of Rome and advance to the rescue of Jerusalem; the city which had formerly been destroyed by a Roman Emperor, whose fall was still recalled by the Arch of Titus, of whose Ark of the Covenant the Lateran still boasted the possession, and whose latest descendants—a despised school of foreigners—had lived since the time of Pompey beside the bridge of the Tiber. The Romans have seldom been fired by enthusiasm for great ideas, and the romantic spirit of chivalry was foreign to their nature. Wherever the German and Norman spirit prevailed, chivalry developed in its heroic strength, in its caprices of enjoying pleasure or doing evil, and in the love of action which led it over land and sea; but at this period the greater part of Italy remained incapable of any movement such as that to which chivalry had given birth. To the rising cities, more especially to the maritime republics, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, which aided the conquest of Syria by their fleets, the Crusades were a source of gain, owing to the traffic with the Levant and the settlement of colonies to which they gave rise; to Rome, however, they were the cause of increasing decay. Chivalry could not take form within the city itself; the Church, which prevented the development of all secular growth (to which women largely contribute), hindered its rise, and at the same time the traditions of antiquity made Roman nobles into

senators and consuls, but never into knights. To a Roman tournament on the grass-grown arena of the ancient Circus the churches and convents, as well as the ruins of the ancient city, would have formed an inappropriate environment, and almost as many tearful nuns as laughing women, as many priests as nobles and citizens, would have gathered as spectators on the tiers of the ancient Colosseum. True, feudalism had penetrated into Roman territory, but the composite system of vassalage on which the order of chivalry was based, could be developed only at a secular, not at a spiritual court. The Roman Nobili of this age were a rude race, dwelling in the ancient monuments, divided into parties, at lasting strife with both popes and emperors, all avaricious and all poor. The Campagna, on the other hand, was inhabited by counts, great and petty brigands, the aspect of whose rocky nests was then as repulsive as it is at the present day; for these ancient seats of counts, such as Segni, Ceccano, Monte-rotondo, Palestrina, Civita Castellana, Galeria, were never touched at any period by the influence of civilisation. No errant troubadour ever visited the castles of these wild nobles, and neither here nor in Rome did a court of beautiful women ever assemble to crown with flowers a victorious cavalier. The graceful poetry of the Middle Ages never rested on the gloomy ruins of Rome, upon whose prostrate granite columns the stern shades of ancient senators seemed to sit and bewail the fall of their city.

Far otherwise was it at the court of the Norman princes of Southern Italy. Born knights, as vagrant

adventurers they had conquered the beautiful land, had driven the Moslem from Sicily with their lances, and had struck terror to the Greek emperor. The sound of the sacred trumpets made them start with joy, to undertake fresh deeds, to acquire new territories; and Norman Italy made the glory of the first Crusade by her immortal heroes Tancred and Bœmund. Tancred, the flower of chivalry, followed the banner of his relative Bœmund (who, although the eldest son of Guiscard, had been set aside for his younger brother Roger), when he broke up his camp before besieged Amalfi in order to go to Jerusalem in 1096. Italian troops, perhaps even natives of Roman territory, rallied round these two leaders, although the chronicler, who, anticipating Tasso, passes the army in review, does not mention any Romans.[1]

The Normans Tancred and Bœmund.

The passage of a crusading army drew the Normans to join it. The French of the western provinces, the French and English Normans, led by Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of the King of France, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and Stephen of Chartres and Blois marched through Tuscany, Rome and Apulia to Bari, where they were to take

[1] *Histor. Gestorum Viæ Hierosol.* (Duchesne, iv. 892). Many of the Italian people cited there are merely poetic figures. Although Lombards followed Raymund's banner, no one of genuine Italian race obtained renown in the Crusades. Tasso invented Rinaldo, in order to flatter Alfonso of Este. Lupus enumerates some counts and more than 500 knights under Bœmund, and in a doubtful letter of Urban to Alexius it is stated that Bœmund had set forth *cum septem millibus delectæ juventutis italicæ* (Mansi, xx.) 660.

ship.[1] The Pope, returning to Rome, met these princes at Lucca, there gave them his blessing, and bestowed the banner of S. Peter on Prince Hugh. He was able to make use of these crusaders to effect through their means the subjugation of Rome and the expulsion of the followers of Wibert from S. Peter's. With the recollection of the sack under Guiscard still fresh in their memories, the Romans must have watched the approach of the Normans of France and England with anxiety, and might deem themselves fortunate in that this splendidly equipped train consisted of disciplined troops, commanded by the most distinguished princes of the West. Had the chroniclers told us more about the sojourn of these crusaders, we should probably have heard of the siege of some of the monuments in which the followers of Wibert lay entrenched. The knights of France and England were astounded on their march to Jerusalem at being obliged to unsheathe their swords in sacred Rome against the bitter enemies of the Pope, and at having these swords stained with the blood of schismatics whom they could not overcome. They must have been appalled at finding that the Turks were already in Rome, and that they themselves, consecrated pilgrims, were menaced by murderous Christians in S. Peter's, when kneeling in prayer before the shrine of the apostle. "As we entered the basilica," thus writes an eye-witness among them, "we found the

The French crusaders pass through Rome.

[1] Petr. Diacon. (iv. c. 11) describes the route of this third expedition. Fulcher in Duchesne, iv. 820. Tudebodus, *Histor. de Hierosol. Itinere, Ibid.*, p. 778, and *Belli Sacri Historia*, c. 5.

people of the imbecile Pope Wibert with swords in their hands; they seized the votive offerings which we had placed on the altars, they climbed on the beams of the church and threw stones down upon us; when we knelt in prayer they desired to murder everyone who appeared to them as the follower of Urban." Fulcher admitted that the crusaders regarded the dreadful condition of the Christian capital with horror, but left the punishment in the hands of God: for several of the crusaders in cowardice turned back from Rome, the remainder continued their progress by Monte Casino to Bari.[1]

Such was the attitude of the city of Rome towards the Crusades, and Fulcher's vivid picture saves the historian from any further description. In other respects the march of the crusaders through papal territory was an advantage to Urban. They forced Wibert to leave the city; they apparently conquered some towers and fortresses, and the Pope, who entered Rome after their departure, was at least enabled to spend Christmas in peace. He was now master of almost the entire city, S. Angelo (with the siege of which the crusaders refused to be detained) alone remaining in the power of Wibert's followers.[2]

They drive Wibert out of the city.

[1] Fulcher Carnotensis, *Histor. Hierosolymitana*, i. 820: *satis proinde doluimus, cum tantam nequitiam ibi fieri vidimus. Sed nil aliud facere potuimus, nisi quod a Domino vindictam inde fieri optavimus.* Wilken's account of this expedition is very inaccurate.

[2] Bernold, *ad A.* 1097. *Papa—nativit. Dom. Romæ cum suis card. gloriosissime celebravit, quippe tota urbe Rom. pene sibi subjugata, præter turrim Crescentii, in qua adhuc latitabant Wibertini.* See *Anon. Zwetlensis*, Petz, *Thes.*, i. iii. 386.

4. Attitude of Henry IV. to the first Crusade—The Pope places himself at the Head of the General Movement—Guelf V. separates from Matilda—The Guelfs desert to Henry's Camp—Henry IV. returns to Germany (1097)—End of his Tragic Struggles—Death of Urban II., 1099—Death of Conrad, 1101; of Henry IV., 1106.

The first Crusade revealed the weakness of the empire, which was incapable of rising to its mission. Was it not the duty of the Emperor, as secular head of Christendom, to place himself in the forefront of this great movement, to unfold its banner and to lead princes and peoples in the holy war? Through the fault of circumstances and of Henry IV. the empire allowed a moment of such importance as never again returned to pass by unheeded. In the entire history of the Middle Ages, there is no period in which we survey the phenomenon of the spiritual impulses in mankind with so great a degree of astonishment as that of the beginning of the Crusades, and nowhere else is the beholder filled with a like admiration not only for the power of religious motives, but also for the genius and good fortune of the popes. The Papacy, assuming the task which belonged to the empire, removed the empire from the world-historic height to place itself thereon. Gregory VII. had clearly recognised the significance of the struggle of Europe with Asia and had striven to become the leader of this movement. This idea he had bequeathed to his successors, and it was inherited from him by the subtle Urban.

Whether the Pope was or was not to be the leader of the expedition did not matter; the world is governed by the idea, and of this the popes were the leaders. Since the Crusades proceeded from the Church, the Church proved to the world that it was she who preserved the unity of nations. Henry IV. gloomily brooding in a castle in Northern Italy, while in his absence a new epoch in the world's history is inaugurated by the parliaments of Piacenza and Clermont; Henry IV., as a passive spectator of those parliaments, seems to have fallen to a lower depth than when he stood as a penitent in Canossa; the anathema of the Pope had, so to speak, banished him from the domain of history.

We have seen Henry defeated in the rebellion of his son in Italy; his cause seemed lost in the peninsula and it was also in great danger in Germany. But the caprice of Fortune, which had made him its plaything, suddenly raised him from his despondency. A domestic quarrel forms a curious episode in the great struggle of the Church with the State, which seemed to be lost in the vaster movements of the Crusades. Ideas move the world to ultimate issues, but interest directs the immediate steps of men, and the "sacred hunger for gold," which is still more powerful among mankind than the ideal impulse of religion, will ever remind us that the half of history is made up of common materials. The marriage of Guelf and Matilda, in accordance perhaps with their own wishes and in harmony with the policy of Rome, was a Platonic union; the countess did not desire a husband, but a standard-bearer in the war against

Henry, not an heir to her estates, but a servant to her aims. But the services he had rendered and a riper manhood endowed the young Guelf with courage to abandon his attitude of submission towards his wife; he determined to rule and possess her property, and Matilda treated him like a presumptuous boy. The quarrel apparently brought to light a fact which had been concealed from both Guelfs—namely, that Matilda's property was already bequeathed to the Church, for the countess had by deed promised all her lands to her friend Gregory.[1] Although the immediate causes of the quarrel between husband and wife are unknown, we may nevertheless assume that this donation was in part responsible for it. After the Council of Piacenza the younger Guelf openly separated from Matilda, and it is scarcely probable that the step was taken without Urban's co-operation. The pretended marriage had served its purpose; it was now dissolved by the shrewd Pope, and a claimant to Matilda's estates was removed. The world had just listened to the revelations of a queen, who had accused her husband of the most outrageous conjugal offences; it now gave ear to the confession of a prince, who either accused his celebrated wife of having refused to fulfil her marriage vow, or alleged the Platonic relationship (whatever may have been its cause) in order to conceal the grounds of his separation.[2]

Guelf separates from Matilda.

[1] Donizo darkly hints at it, and it is known to Petr. Diacon., iv. c. 49. *Math. comitissa, H. imperatoris exercitum timens, Liguriam et Tusciam provincias Gregorio papæ et S. R. E. devotissime obtulit. Unde in primis causa seminandi inter pontificem et imp. odii initium fuit.*

[2] Bernold, A. 1095. Villani's legend (lib. iv. c. 20) concerning

The Guelfs go to Henry's camp.

The elder Guelf hastened to Italy. As soon as he perceived that his son was merely used as a puppet husband, and that he had been deceived concerning Matilda's property, he went, filled with indignation, to Henry's camp. The avarice of the Guelfs suddenly raised him above all religious and political considerations; the excommunicated enemy became forthwith the most intimate friend. Henry now quitted his solitude to fight against Matilda, and the Guelfs hastened to Germany, where, to the universal surprise, they zealously strengthened the party of the Emperor.

Meanwhile Italy was lost to Henry. The great countess acquired the lasting glory of having victoriously resisted the arms of the Emperor in a twelve years' war, and of having effectually protected the Papacy with her shield. The Emperor was forced to leave her in possession of the field, when in 1097 he returned to Germany for the last time. His Pope, Clement III., it is true, still offered a weak resistance in his fortresses, but he remained powerless within his archbishopric of Ravenna, while Urban II. at length obtained possession of Rome. His protector Pierleone gained S. Angelo by treachery on August 24, 1098, and the Pope was now able to call himself ruler of the city.[1] Urban was more astute and more

The Emperor returns to Germany, 1097.

Matilda and Guelf is amusing, but Villani also knows that it was Matilda who repudiated Gulfo.

[1] Bernold, A. 1099 (he begins his year with Christmas): *D. Papa nativitat. Dom. Romæ cum magna pace celebravit; nam et castellum s. Angeli cum aliis munitionib. in sua potestate detinuit, omnesq. emulos suos in civitate — satis viriliter aut placavit aut vi perdomuit.* The Catalogue of Cencius says: *castrum sci.*

fortunate than Gregory VII., to whom he stood in the same relation as Augustus had stood to Cæsar. After such violent storms, after a life spent in exile, or in wandering and incessant activity, Urban enjoyed a brief interval of repose and triumph. In Southern Italy he established his alliance with the Normans, a people with whom he stood on terms of intimate friendship; he even appointed (on July 5, 1098, at Salerno) Count Roger of Sicily and his successors as apostolic legates in the island.[1] He assembled a great Council in Rome after Easter 1099, and he renewed all his own decrees and those of his predecessors.[2]

For the historian who has described the tragic struggle of Henry IV. with the popes, there remains but little to record beyond the deaths of the chief figures in the strife. Urban died on July 29, 1099. If the news of the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders reached his ears, he was enabled to close his eyes in content. He did not die in the Lateran. The papal palace had fallen into ruin, and the city was still filled with fanatic schismatics and murderous

Death of Urban II. 1099.

Angeli a Romanis captum est in festo s. Laurentii; castrum ipsum traditum est Petro Leonis in vigilia s. Bartholomæi, therefore on August 24.

[1] The Bull *Salerni* 3 *Non. Junii*, *Ind. VII.* (more probably VI.) *Pont. D. Urbani II., XI.* (Mansi, xx. 659). From it is derived the so-called monarchy of Sicily, a subject of dispute between the popes and the Kings of Naples and Spain.

[2] Florentii Wigorn., *Histor.* (*M. Germ.*, vii. 565): *Urbanus P.* 3 *hebdomada paschæ magnum concilium tenuit Romæ — Eos quoque anathematis vinculo colligavit, qui pro ecclesiasticis honorib. laicor. hominum homines fierent.* He forbade all feudal relations to the clergy. Mansi, xx. 962.

enemies.[1] The fortunate Pope who had inaugurated the Crusades was obliged to make his abode in the gloomy palace of one of his protectors. He died in the fortified house of the Pierleone near the church of S. Nicola in Carcere, and it was judged necessary to carry his remains by a circuitous route through Trastevere to S. Peter's.[2]

Clement III. was also soon released from the troubles of his life. Henry followed later, while the great countess survived all her celebrated contemporaries. The young Conrad died, despised and deserted, at Florence as early as 1101. We cannot follow his unhappy father into Germany, or describe either his later battles, the infamous rebellion of his second son Henry, or finally his tragic end. He died at Liége on August 7, 1106, excommunicated by the Church, deposed by the German princes, ill-used by his unnatural sons, in the arms of some friends of unalterable fidelity.[3] We merely bestow a sorrowful glance on Henry's sarcophagus, removed by fanatic priests from its resting-place in the church in Liége

Death of Henry IV., August 7, 1106

[1] *Nonnullos cives urbis, quorum ingens multitudo propter fidelitatem Imperatoris ipsi Papæ erat infesta,* says (Baron., *ad A.* 1098) Eadmerus, the companion of Anselm of Canterbury, who was in Rome during the last days of Urban.

[2] Pand. Pisan., p. 352 : *Urbanus—apud eccl. s. Nicolai in carcere in domo Petri Leonis IV. Kal. Aug. animam deo reddidit, atque per Transtyberim propter insidias inimicorum in eccl. B. Petri—corpus eius delatum est.* The history of Urban II. has been written by Adrien de Brimont, but by no means in a satisfactory manner: *Un Pape au Moyen âge, Urbain II.*, Paris, 1862.

[3] History mentions with praise the names of Liemar of Bremen, Dietrich of Verdun, Rapoto, Count Palatine of Bavaria, the Bohemian Wratislaw, Benno of Osnabruck.

and carried to a desolate island in the Maas, and see beside it a monk, a pilgrim from Jerusalem, weeping and singing the psalms for the dead. The King who lay in his coffin had been at the same time a bold sinner and a brave warrior; and although every unprejudiced judgment must condemn him, more especially in the first half of his career, as a libertine and a despot, his faults are partly explained by the unfortunate circumstances of his youth, which made him, deprived of a father's guidance, the object of the strife of factions and of their despicable avarice. His struggle with the most powerful of popes exhibits all the contradictions of a vacillating nature. In extenuation of his fall at Canossa we must take into account the superstitious character of the age, the dread in which excommunication was held, the belief in outward penitential exercises,—an age in which manly dignity was prostrated beneath the scourge of the priest. His vacillation beside the calm strength of Gregory shows both monarchs and meaner men that, unless fortified by an inner law of right and duty, and unless provided with a definite aim by consistency of action, man resembles a vessel driven hither and thither by the wind. To Gregory VII., apart from all the other weapons with which character, genius, and finally the Church invested him, the clear and inherited object which he had in view lent a great superiority over his adversary. It was only late in life that Henry's object became entirely clear to his own eyes, and even then it remained ever obscured by circumstances, in which he had to face the hostility of religious opinion. Nevertheless, his

indefatigable struggle against Roman supremacy was sufficiently glorious. Henry placed his country under an eternal debt of gratitude, for had it not been for his heroic courage, Germany would have fallen into vassalage to the spiritual tyranny of Rome. Henry IV. was a predecessor of the Hohenstaufens, and will ever live as a great and tragic champion in the history of the German nation.[1]

5. Culture of Rome in the Eleventh Century—Guido of Arezzo invents Musical Notes—Condition of the Libraries—The Pomposa—Monte Casino—Farfa—Gregory of Catino—Subiaco—Beginning of the collection of Roman *Regesta*—Deusdedit—Defective continuation of the *History of the Popes*—The *Regesta* of Gregory VII.—Peter Damiani—Bonizo—Anselm of Lucca—Polemical Writings concerning the Investiture.

We close the history of the city in the eleventh century with a glance at the condition of intellectual culture during the period—a subject of which, however, we have but little to say.

Ignorance in Rome.

During the tenth century we failed to discover a single Roman possessed of literary talent, nor in the eleventh is any such forthcoming. There is something appalling in this intellectual desert, even although explained by the history of so bloody a period. Since the middle of the eleventh century,

[1] German fidelity dedicated a touching lament to his sad fate: the well-known *Vita Heinrici IV.* (ed. Wattenbach, *Mon. Germ.*, xiv.).

the seeds of a newer cultivation had developed in the rest of Italy. The rising freedom of the cities spurred the citizens on to intellectual activity; the secular schools made the first attempt to obtain emancipation from the Church; jurisprudence was cultivated; trade created and fostered information, and great events demanded that they should be described. Rome alone remained untouched by these influences,—all energies were there consumed in the great struggle for reform; the popes, educated in Germany or Gaul, who headed the movement, exerted themselves to purify churches and convents from moral corruption, but had not leisure to educate a cultured clergy. The series of popes, in part infamous, which continued until the Synod of Sutri (the Romans themselves called them "idiots"), serves to mark the period of profoundest barbarism, until Rome became animated once more by German and Gallic culture, as it had been animated in the time of Sylvester II. and Gregory V. The reforming popes were foreigners, as were also the better of the cardinals by whom they were surrounded.

We know nothing of the condition of the Roman schools at this time. Documents show us that Doctors of law, Scholars and Masters existed elsewhere, although not in Rome. Wipo summoned Henry III. to emulate the example of the Italians and to send the sons of the German nobility to the schools, but it was scarcely in Rome that he had become acquainted with the praiseworthy custom.[1]

[1] In the *Tetralogus Wiponis* (*M. Germ.*, xiii. 251; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 223):—

Nobles and citizens were less educated in Rome than in Bologna or Pisa, Pavia or Milan, although even in Rome grammar-schools, where the knowledge of the ancients was taught, must always have remained in existence. For the study of grammar was at the time wide-spread in Italy, and great value was placed on an artificial and rhetorically-coloured style.[1]

In literature and profane science Rome remained behind the rest of Italy in the same degree as in the tenth century. The example of the rhymed chronicle of the monk Donizo of Canossa, who described the life of the great Countess Matilda in verse, it is true, barbaric; that of William of Apulia, in whom the heroic career of Robert Guiscard found, if not a Virgil, at any rate an intelligent narrator, roused no Roman monk to emulation; nor was the lyric poetry of Damiani, or that of Alfanus of Salerno, any more successful. Of inscriptions or epigrams there are also but few examples at this period. Church music, however, had received a fresh impetus since Guido of Arezzo, a Benedictine in the monastery of Pomposa near Ravenna, had invented notes and had thereby inaugurated the series of intellectual dis-

Tunc fac edictum per terram Teutonicorum,
Quilibet ut dives sibi natos instruat omnes
Litterulis, Legemque suam persuadeat illis—
Hoc servant Itali post prima crepundia cuncti,
Et sudare scholis mandatur tota juventus.

[1] Damiani, Ep. 8, lib. viii., *ad Bonumhominem legis peritum Cænatensem: non ignoro quia cum mea epistola grammaticorum sæcularium manibus traditur . . . rhetoricæ venustatis color inquiritur, et capitosos syllogismorum atque enthymematum circulos mens curiosa rimatur.* This should show us, that even rhetoric and dialectic were studies not unknown to the Italians at this period.

coveries by which barbarism was wiped from the human race. The envy of his brethren of the cowl banished Guido from the cloister, and the first inventor in the history of Christian culture became also its first martyr, and even likened himself to that artist who was put to death by Tiberius for having discovered an indestructible kind of glass. Tedald, Bishop of Arezzo, gave him shelter, and shortly after the ignorant John XIX. summoned him to Rome. The Pope allowed Guido to explain his antiphonary, soon learnt to sing a strophe, and gave orders that the marvellous system should be taught in the school for choristers in the Lateran. We still read the letter in which Guido relates his triumph. The happy monk left Rome, promising, however, to return to teach his new invention.[1] Rome, perhaps, made no effort to detain her illustrious guest, or else he fled, as he himself admits, from the fever-stricken desert. Among the reasons advanced by a cardinal in the time of Gregory VII. to account for the ignorance of the Roman clergy, next to poverty, which prevented students from frequenting foreign schools, was the unhealthiness of Rome, which kept foreign teachers at a distance. The marshiness of several portions of the city must, indeed, have rendered it an actual catacomb.[2] It was, moreover,

Guido of Arezzo.

[1] The letter *beatiss. fratri Michæli Guido per anfractus multos dejectus et anctus* in Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, iv. 324. The Bishop Tedald, who gave shelter to Guido, was brother of the Marquis Boniface.

[2] Guido says: *Roma morari non poteram vel modicum, æstivo fervore in locis maritimis ac palustribus nobis minante excidium.* And a cardinal wrote: *duæ causæ sunt ignorantiæ vestræ, una quod*

poor, and filled with factions, and the papal court at this time gave no encouragement to learning. Neither Lanfranc of Pavia, the tutor of Alexander II., nor the more celebrated Anselm of Aosta, the pupil of Lanfranc, the father of scholastic theology, was attracted to Rome. From the monastery of Bec in Normandy, these two Lombards, stars of the first magnitude in the eleventh century, illumined each in turn France and the entire West, and successively died as archbishops in Canterbury.

Not even of those popes who furthered reform is any decree in favour of schools recorded, and it was reserved for Gregory VII., in 1078, to revive the order that schools for the clergy should be erected beside all churches.[1]

The libraries.

Concerning the libraries in Rome at this period we are in utter ignorance. Nevertheless it is probable that measures may have been taken for their support, the series of librarians remaining unbroken during the eleventh century, while during the twelfth three only are mentioned, and during the thirteenth not a single librarian is known to us by name.[2] The decay of learning cooled the ardour for the comple-

ægritudo loci extraneos, qui vos doceant, hic habitare non sinit, alia quod paupertas vos ad extranea loca ad discendum non permittat abire (*Atto Card. prooem. Capitularis ad canonicos eccl. s. Marci*, from Mai, *Scriptor. vet. nov. Collect.*, vi. 60, ii., in Giesebrecht, *De Litter. Stud.*, p. xvii.).

[1] *Concil. Harduin.*, T. vi. p. i. 1580: *Ut omnes episcopi artes litterarum in suis ecclesiis doceri faciant.* Tiraboschi, iii. 248.

[2] Tiraboschi, iii. 255, referring to *Assemanni præfat. ad Vol. I. Catal. Bibl. Vatican.*, lvi. In 1026 we find the first German who became Bibliothecarius of the Roman Church; this was the Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne.

tion of the Lateran library, and scarcely any monks remained in Roman monasteries who understood the art of writing Codices. Damiani complains of the dearth of copyists, and that but few were capable of reading at sight that which they had written.[1] Rome was still put to shame by the Italian monasteries which here and there cherished learning. We possess a catalogue belonging to this time of the library of Pomposa, the author of which boasts that the library in question is richer than that of Rome, and the observation proves that the Roman libraries were still regarded as important. At the end of the tenth century, and before his elevation to the Papacy, the celebrated Gerbert turned to Rome in search of books for his library.[2] The abbots Guido and Hieronymus collected books at great expense from all parts of the world for the abbey of Pomposa. The collection, which was very numerous for that age, contained, it is true, few profane authors; although Eutropius and the *Historia Miscella*, Pliny, Solinus and Justin, Seneca, Donatus and the already mutilated Livy are mentioned among a mass of theological writings.[3]

Still more laudable was the activity of the monks of Monte Casino in the collection and transcription Monte Casino.

[1] *Deest antiquarius* (thus the copyists were called as early as the time of Cassiodorus) *qui transcribat. Sed cur—queror incuriam, cum non modo quispiam quæ scribo transferre, sed nec celeri quidem vacet lectione percurrere.* Baron., *ad A.* 1061, n. 47.

[2] Gerb., Ep. 44. De Rossi, *La Bibl. della Sed. Apostolica*, Rome, 1884, p. 37.

[3] *Ep. Heinrici Clerici ad Stephan.* Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*, p. 81.

of manuscripts. The golden age of the monastery is the age of Desiderius. Owing to him numerous manuscripts were collected and compiled, and among them were more profane writings than are to be found elsewhere. Even at the present day the scholar gazes with reverence on the many beautiful parchments in Lombard character which were copied at the instigation of the abbot. Monte Casino shines with lustre in the literary history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We might well dispense with the poetry of an Alberic or an Alfanus, a Desiderius or an Oderisius, but the services rendered by Amatus in his *History of the Normans* about 1080, and by Leo Marsicanus (later Cardinal-bishop of Ostia under Paschalis II.) in his *Chronicle of Monte Casino*, are great and lasting.[1] Even the science of medicine, which, owing to Arab influence, flourished in neighbouring Salerno, was also cultivated in the monastery, and Constantine Africanus, who, born in Carthage about the year 1060, translated Arab and Greek writings into Latin, was renowned at the convent as a promoter of the science. This scholar was a veritable marvel of Chaldæan wisdom,—wisdom which he had acquired in the East,—and was the first

[1] Amatus wrote the *History of the Normans* in the time of the Abbot Desiderius; it has only been preserved in an old French translation, edited by Champollion-Figéac, Paris, 1835, as *L'ystoire de li Normant et la chronique de Robert Viscard par Aimé moine de Mont Cassin.* Leo, a member of the family of the Marsian counts, and Cardinal-archbishop of Ostia (who died after 1115), made use of this work. At the instance of the Abbot Oderisius, he wrote the *Chronicle of Monte Casino* down to the year 1075. It has been edited by Angelo della Noce in 1665, then by Muratori, and lastly by Wattenbach, *Mon. Germ.*, ix.

scholar in Europe whose knowledge of Arabic is established beyond a doubt.[1]

While Monte Casino rendered such services to learning, the Benedictine abbeys of Farfa and Subiaco in the neighbourhood of Rome acquired no such renown. Monte Casino zealously espoused the cause of Rome, two reforming popes had even issued from the monastery, but Farfa steadily upheld the rights of the imperial power. The literary activity of the brethren of Farfa was solely of a monastic character. At the time of Otto III. we observed the zeal of the Abbot Hugo, some of whose writings, depicting the decline of the abbey, we still possess.[2] To defend the freedom of this abbey was the continued effort of his successors. To this necessity is due the celebrated register of Farfa documents compiled at the end of the eleventh century. The monk Gregory of Catino, a noble Sabine, commanded by the Abbot Berard II. to collect all documents relating to Farfa, prosecuted his laborious work between the years 1092 and 1099, after which his pupil Todinus less successfully continued the task until 1125, when the

Farfa.

[1] He collected Greek and Arabic manuscripts, and translated Hippocrates, Galen, and Arabian writers. F. Wüstenfeld, "Die Uebersetzung arab. Werke in das Latein," *Abhdl. d. Gesch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxii., 1877, p. 10. Plato Tiburtinus, who lived in Spain (1116–1138), is next heard of as a translator of astronomical works from Hebrew and Arabic. *Ibid.*, p. 39, according to the researches of B. Boncompagni (*Atti d. Acc. Pont. de' nuovi Lincei*, 1851, p. 247).

[2] *Destructio Farfensis: De diminutione Monasterii. Quærimonium ad Imperatorem. Ordo Farfensis.* Printed by Bethmann in the *Historiæ Farfenses. Mon. Germ.*, xiii.

documents come to an end, and the abbey itself fell into the papal power. This excellent collection of *Regesta* forms one of the chief sources for the historian of the Roman Middle Ages; it has been drawn upon since the last century, and from it have been derived also materials for the present history of the city.[1] The care with which the monks transferred to parchment the diplomas of princes, emperors, and popes, the register of possessions, deeds of emphyteusis, acts of law-suits, over a space of more than three hundred years commands admiration. The same archivist Gregory collected the leases in a separate manuscript, and further added diplomas, deeds, and historical dates to the formless, nay monstrous *Chronicle of Farfa*.[2] These various tasks belong rather to the province of the archivist and advocate than to that of the historian. For Gregory did not desire to compile a historical work, but aimed rather at producing documentary proofs of the rights of Farfa, and it is with justice that a *Defence of the Imperial Rights* in connection with

[1] This is the celebrated *Cod. Vatican.*, 8487, which was happily sent back from Paris after the fall of Napoleon. It is exhaustively treated of by Bethmann, *l. c.* The Sessorian library in Rome contains incomplete copies from the hand of Fatteschi. This abbot, who with Galletti deserves praise for his labours in the field of mediæval Roman history, thence partly derived the materials for his excellent work on the Dukes of Spoleto. Only since 1879 has the work of publishing the *Regesta* of Farfa in the *Bibl. della Società Rom. di Stor. Patria* in Rome been begun by J. Georgi and U. Balzani. Vol. ii. has lately appeared.

[2] The *Chronica Farfensis* (the original remains at Farfa, as also the *Liber Emphiteuseos seu Largitorium*) in Muratori, ii. 2. It was carried on by Gregory to 1105.

the investiture, a polemical work belonging to the time of the struggle for reform, has been attributed to him.[1]

Subiaco also compiled a similar register in the eleventh century, without, however, working it into a chronicle.[2] Although it grew rich, and gradually subjugated the surrounding country, the ancient monastery acquired no great degree of importance. In the time of Leo IX. the Abbot Humbert, a Frenchman, beautified it by buildings, erected the cloistered court-yard, and began the remarkable grotto-church called Santo-Speco.[3] The abbey, however, was exhausted by constant divisions, and carried on at the same time fierce struggles with the bishopric of Tivoli, the Marsian counts, the Crescentii in the Sabina, and other petty tyrants in the neighbourhood. Subiaco.

The episcopal church of Tivoli also possessed a valuable store of archives. Not until the second half of the twelfth century, however, was a register of these documents compiled. This codex, dis-

[1] *Orthodoxa defensio imperialis, de investitura, scripta nomine congregationis Farfensis sub Heinr. Imper.* Bethmann, *Ibid.*, p. 558. He saw the manuscript only in a fifteenth century codex.

[2] The *Registrum Sublacense* is preserved in this abbey. Fatteschi's copy is in the Sessoriana. It has been edited by L. Allodi and G. Levi: *Il Regesto Sublacense*, Rome, 1885. The Acts of Subiaco show how thickly the adjacent country was settled by Germans. Names such as Arnolfus, Albertus, Albericus, Adenolfus, Baduaro, Balduin, Farolf, Guido, Gottifredo, Girardo, Ilpizo, Ildeprand, Lambertus, Lando, Rudolfus, Theodoricus, &c., show this even in the eleventh century.

[3] *Fecit in specu ecclesiam pulcherrimam et firmam coopertâ cripta Chron. Sublacense*, p. 932. Murat., *Script.*, xxiv.

tinguished not by the number of its documents, but by its age, is preserved in the Vatican archives.[1] The Church in Rome must have had still more cause for a like activity. The archives of the convents in the city were full of documents. No one, however, collected or compiled them. During the disturbances of the tenth and eleventh centuries a portion of the Lateran archives must unquestionably have perished; nevertheless those which remained would have amply rewarded the trouble of a collector. Indeed, towards the end of the eleventh century a beginning of a work of this kind was made, with the object of defending the privileges of the Roman Church against the imperial power. In the collection of documents which he dedicated to Victor III., the Gregorian Cardinal Deusdedit brought together diplomas of the emperors, deeds of gift, the registers of the Patrimonia and of the Census, feudal contracts, even ancient leases from the time of the first Gregory, and catalogues of the popes.[2] After the end of the twelfth century these lists were repeatedly included in the Census-registers of the Canon Benedict, of Albinus, and of Cencius.

Cardinal Deusdedit.

The reinvigoration of the Papacy ought, it seems,

[1] *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, by Luigi Bruzza (*Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, Rome, 1880).

[2] *Cod. Vat.*, 3833 (unique) from the beginning of *sæc.* xii. The preface is on fol. 8: *beat. atque aplico viro Pont. D. Papæ Victori III. Deusdedit exiguus prbr. tituli apostolorum in eudoxia.* This codex has been edited by Monsignor Pio Martinucci: *Deusdedit presbyteri cardlis Tit. apostolor. in Eudoxia Collectio canonum e Cod. Vat. edita*, Venet., 1869. Enrico Stevensohn, *Osserv. sulla collectio Deusdedit* (*Arch. d. R. Soc. Rom.*, vol. viii., 1885).

to have given a new impulse to the writing of its history; but even in this century the Roman continuation of the *History of the Popes* merely consists of very scanty catalogues, or of formless notices of the nature of chronicles.[1] No stronger reproach can be levied against the Roman clergy than the fact that they were incapable of transmitting to posterity the great events of their age. Rome was obliged to leave the biographies of the greatest popes of the period of reform to be written by foreigners. The life of Leo IX. was written by an archdeacon of Toul, and at the wish of Gregory VII. also by S. Bruno of Segni, who proved capable, however, of only a very miserable work; the life of Gregory VII. himself was written, although in a very defective manner, by Paul of Bernried, a German canon of Regensburg.[2]

The History of the Popes.

In an age when Italian historiography produced the works of Arnulf and Landulf in Milan, of Amatus, of Gaufried Malaterra, of William of Apulia, and of Leo Marsicanus, one of the most important epochs in the history of the popes would have

[1] *Cod. Vatican.*, 1984, is of more use for the beginning of *sæc.* xii. Concerning it see Pertz, *Archiv.*, v. 80, and, in more detail, Bethmann, xi. 841. The portions in question are derived from authors of imperialist sympathies in the time of Henry III., IV., and V. The work of Watterich, who has edited afresh the *Vitæ Pontificum Romanor.* from the end of *sæc.* ix. to the end of *sæc.* xiii. (Leipzig, 1862), is very valuable.

[2] *Vita Gregorii PP. VII.*, ed. Muratori, iii. p. 1. This mediocre author, banished from Regensburg by Henry IV., lived in Rome, but only wrote about 1128. The work of the schismatic Cardinal Benno, *Vita et Gesta Hildebrandi*, of the beginning of *sæc.* xii., is a party pamphlet.

The letters of Gregory VII.

remained unrecorded, but for the numerous letters of Gregory VII., which have happily been preserved. This celebrated collection, a pendant to the letters of Gregory I., has justly been regarded as the genuine production of Roman literature in the eleventh century. From these letters the historian of literature may form an opinion of the Latinity of the Roman chancery at this time. In them the historian finds priceless material, and the biographer discovers a faithful mirror of the great, inflexible, and cold intellect of a monarch whose spirit was never graced or warmed by any gift of the muse.[1]

Peter Damiani.

The antithesis of Gregory was Peter Damiani, but this brilliant genius of the second order only belonged to Rome in passing. We have spoken of his works, and have frequently made use of his writings, in which a feeling of mysticism is united to a noble Christian spirit. Damiani imbibed a great part of the culture of the eleventh century; his writings, homilies, theological and exegetical treatises, lives of the saints, panegyrics on monasticism, letters to contemporaries, and poems show him to have been a man well versed in grammar and theology, an amiable dreamer, but by no means a philosophic thinker.[2]

[1] The *Regesta* of Gregory were printed since 1591; they were emended by Giesebrecht, and were then published by Jaffé in vol. ii. of his *Bibliotheca*. The *Regesta* of Gregory VII. are only the small remains—400 of his letters. Of the papal regesta down to Innocent III., those of Leo I., Gregory I., John VIII., and Gregory VII. alone remain.

[2] Damiani himself, like Gregory I., condemned the rules of Donatus. In Opuscula xiii. c. ii., Ep. viii. lib. viii., he says: *mea grammatica Christus est*, and yet he was a trained grammarian.

Within the narrow circle of the history of Roman literature we may doubtfully venture to quote the name of one author of the Gregorian period. This is Bonizo, who was Bishop of Sutri about 1075. One of Gregory's most zealous adherents, he was persecuted by Henry, and after unknown fortunes, was, it is believed, murdered by the imperialists. He acquired renown as a historian of the popes of his time. In his chief work, *Concerning the Persecution of the Church*, he gives a cursory and ignorant outline of the history of the Church up to the time of Henry II., after which he describes the events in detail until the death of Gregory VII. His recital is fairly clear and free from fanaticism; his material, however, is frequently valueless, owing to numerous errors and distortions, and in his books, written though they be in the spirit of a partisan, we possess the first attempt at a history of the Papacy. Bonizo's statements have been repeated in many other collections of papal biographies and chronicles.[1] Bonizo.

Neither did the learned Bishop Anselm of Lucca, the spiritual adviser of Matilda, belong to the city, in whose cause he was so zealously active. The great battle for reform gave rise to a long and

[1] *Bonizonis ad Amicum sive de persecutione ecclesiæ libri* 9, edited by Oefele, *Rer. Boicar. Scriptor.*, ii. 794, then by Jaffé in vol. ii. of his *Bibliotheca Rer. Germanicar.* He also collected the Decretals in ten books, and added as an introduction an abstract of the *History of the Popes.* This is erroneously called by Zaccagni (*Mscr. Vat.*, 7143) *Chronica de Rom. Pontif. Gestis.* It was edited by Mai after Zaccagni. Stenzel and Giesebrecht have written at length on Bonizo, also Hugo Saur (*Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 1868, vol. viii.).

violent movement in the literature of Germany and Italy. The rise of a similar literature of pamphlets in our own days, when, after an interval of nearly eight centuries, the Papacy, owing to the revolution of 1859, has fallen into deadly strife with the Italian nation itself, recalls in various ways the period of the war of investiture. And at the present time also it is the city of Rome itself which contributes the smallest share to this deluge of pamphlets and writings for and against the unity of Italy, for and against the Dominium Temporale and the secular sovereignty of the Pope.[1]

[1] The literature of brochures of the present time (after 1859) will serve as sources to posterity, in the same way that these writings concerning the quarrel for investiture serve as authorities to us. Since the appearance of *Le Pape et le Congrès*, hundreds of such pamphlets have been produced, for the most part in France.

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